Journalism in Turkey

Practices, Challenges, Opportunities

Devrim İnce /
Yurdagül Bezirgan Arar (Eds.)

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Journalism in Turkey has an ambivalent characteristic. On the one hand, the social demand for genuine journalism has increased, and on the other hand, news has turned into a tool within the polluted political polarization atmosphere. In the age of fake news and post-truth, practices of journalism in Turkey both contain significantly striking examples of how media professionals overcome the barriers and also give some clues about the changing nature of journalism. The book examines the deep crisis mainstream media experience in Turkey. New-born media institutions, alternatives, their start-up strategies, and transformation of journalism field are scrutinized by qualitative and quantitative methods. The book aims to present a current picture of journalism in Turkey by underlining both historical continuities and breaks from the tradition.

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Introduction

This book was prepared at the time of the Covid-19 pandemic when daily life has slowed more than ever, but history accelerated at an unprecedented level. Declaring the "end of things" in social sciences has been extremely common and a large grave had already been dug for journalism. Journalists and newspapers are on a decline in numbers, yet those talking about journalism increase day by day. It is as if journalism has turned into a cursed job which everyone knows how to do but nobody wants to do.

The mainstream media all over the world – a little more in Turkey – seems to be losing power. As highlighted, a majority of journalism studies focus on questions such as the current death of the mainstream media or whether it has already died. In fact, scholars are trying to describe how this new era is or will be, but we do not have consistent theoretical explanations other than great labels such as new media, new journalism, etc. Even the newest concepts are getting old quickly. All that is solid from news and audiences to class and circulation melt into the air.

According to various scholars, journalism is one of the integral parts of technological developments. 20 years ago, Pavlik stated that technological change would affect journalist in four dimensions as follows: the way journalists do their job and the nature of news content; the structure and organization of the newsroom and the news industry; and the nature of the relationships between and among news organizations (Pavlik, 2000: 229). The new era brings along its new forms of production in journalism. Three papers in this book have examined the changing rules of the game in journalism. Ünal and Taylan have examined how newsrooms and journalists adapt to new production practices by conducting in-depth interviews with journalists. Gelir-Atabey and Atabey have written a monographic paper on the case of 140journos starting from the concept of citizen journalism. In this study, limits of citizen journalism and alternative media have been questioned through in-depth interviews. Özkan has investigated other aspects of the story by analyzing the transformation of readers' habits on media consumption.

Speaking of the new era, it has not been far since it was asserted that thanks to the internet technologies, the public will completely be free and have equal access to information. Of course, there were those who advocate that everything will not go well as it is said. Especially after the last general elections in the United States and the United Kingdom, fake news, mostly originating from social media,

but even found in mainstream media, has led to the popularization of concepts such as post-truth and fake news which have been discussed among scholars for some time. Along with these discussions, fact-checking services have been introduced to the life of average digital literate. Two cases of the fact-checking services in Turkey, have been viewed by Ova and Kılıç. As producing news by the double-check mechanism disappears slowly even in the Anglo-Saxon media, their study gives clues about this transformation which brings about new content and checking mechanism.

The investments made by foreign media organizations in the journalism field in Turkey are increasing. By looking at the number of audiences watching the content prepared by these organizations, it is understood that the people of the country did not leave this interest unanswered. Some consider that this interest stems from a real political perspective. This view is based on the assumption that foreign countries wield this media tool to protect their interests in Turkey. Others argue that the space emptied by the "domestic and national" mainstream media has been filled by foreign enterprises which broadcast in Turkish. In this book, the activities of foreign media organizations which broadcast in Turkish have been addressed by two articles. Narin and Ünal have examined the working practices of foreign media organizations within the concept of glocalism. The authors have interviewed the journalists working for these organizations and investigated the advantages and disadvantages of working for a foreign media company's Turkish branch. All the foreign policy debate in Turkey, even domestic ones too, generate a metaphor called "axis shift". This is based on the assumption that Turkey is moving from the Western path to the Russia-China axis. This might be the case, yet it is impossible to answer such a vital question properly within the confines of this book which is mainly about journalism in Turkey. Instead, foreign media interest in Turkey has been analyzed from a real-politic perspective by Yıldız and Dursun.

Human aspects of journalism are generally examined with cultural or sociological perspective. The sociology of Bourdieu gives wide range of possibilities to understand the fundamental elements of the relationship between individual journalist, system and the journalistic field. Başaran-İnce, has dissected the features of the journalistic field in Turkey with a qualitative study on journalism students. The findings of her study make us suspicious about the myth of "youngster idealism" and track the structural ruptures and continuities of the journalistic field in Turkey. The study of Öztürk, drawing on Bourdieu's concept of "the capital", has scrutinized the need for technical knowledge within the changing journalism ecosystem by interviewing the new generation journalists. Öztürk has designed her research based on a new concept called "technical capital" that

was inspired from Bourdieu's sociology. Mesut Yücebaş questions whether local journalism is a form of craftsmanship. His article which is comprised of in-depth interviews with journalists working in Gaziantep province – the border city between Turkey and Syria – also gives a historical and actual perspective about the transformation of local journalism.

Studies on media texts constitute a very important part of the communication research. Taking into account that super-structural issues are the main elements of the political polarization, media texts are still treated as important research materials in Turkey as well. Moreover, the government proves on several occasions that it takes the "word" extremely serious. One of the two studies in this book on media texts examines the revolution era in Turkey, 1923–1940, through early Republican press. İnce's study which is comprised of a semiological analysis questions the relationship between visual preferences in journalism and the establishment of the revolution. In Semiray Yücebaş's article, right wing newspapers' negative reactions to the rising women's movement are examined with a qualitative study.

Within the confines of this book, we tried to cover actual discussions on journalism practises in Turkey and provide an actual panorama. Convergence of the findings of these researches with world-wide efforts of theorizing journalism would best serve the aims of this book.

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Gökçen Başaran-İnce

An Ever-Lasting Status Quo: Journalistic Field in Turkey

Introduction

Unlike in Western modernization, the newspaper did not emerge as an outcome of material production processes and class relations in Turkey. It was introduced to the society by the State, as part of an official modernization project. Its faith was determined by the rise and fall of the elites who transformed the people and the state with contentious projects. During the preliminary modernization efforts of the Republic, it was authorized as the "display of modernization" by performing "reform journalism". With the advent of the multi-party system, a partial autonomy arrived in tandem with the development of capitalism which did not last long due to the rising authoritarianism of the new actors of politics. The partial autonomy has also been interrupted constantly by military interventions. Thus, throughout its history, the faith of newspapers has been in the hands of power groups that seized the State.

The current situation of journalism in Turkey tracks its historical heritage and all the contemporary crisis of journalism that is embodied as the monopolization of the journalistic field within neo-liberal and autocratic policies which creates a cultural production field in which voices of others are marginalized and journalism loses its autonomy. This journalistic crisis is neither inherent to Turkey, nor it is new. Journalistic field around the world is downsizing (Carson, 2014), journalists are losing their discursive authority (Lanosga and Houston, 2017) and even in the USA, journalism is charged with being the "enemy of the people". From this perspective, journalism presents a dire and dark future to its professionals (Houston, 2010; Lanosga ve Houston, 2017), yet it also struggles hard to survive all around the world.

The aim of this article is to dissect the features of the journalistic field in Turkey with a qualitative research on journalism students. It also aims to track structural continuities and ruptures with a glance at the historical formation of the journalistic field in Turkey and re-read research findings within this context. The theoretical background of the study is comprised of Bourdieu's sociology, especially his concepts of "field", "habitus", "capital" and "strategy". Thus, the first part of the article will focus on the fundamentals of Bourdieu's sociology. The

second part will discuss the journalistic field as a sub-field of cultural production and the characteristics of the journalistic field in Turkey. The third part will analyze the findings of the research within the theoretical background of the study.

The Fundamentals of Pierre Bourdieu's Thought

In the academic circles, Pierre Bourdieu is ratified as one of the distinctive sociologists of the 21st century. Comprehending his neology requires understanding his objections, rebuttals and acceptance of the classical sociology. Bourdieu's main feature is his ability to stretch his position and thoughts, to enlarge the classical concepts of sociology like "capital" or "habitus", to pick the best apples from the basket of the sociological thought and his will to fuse so-called contradicting ideas of the sociologists predating him. He attempts to bridge extreme objectivist/structuralist and subjectivist/phenomological/constructivist positions under "structural-constructivist approach" (Bourdieu, 1989: 20) in which he aims to rephrase the roles of agents and structures. Meanwhile he attempts to overcome the classical dualisms of the Western thought like "agent-structure/mind-body and/or qualitative-quantitative data" which impede a broader vision of the social reality. His research techniques also aim to corraborate etnographic observation and theoretical assumptions by statistical analysis. Bourdieu's efforts to create harmony between so-called "contradicting" ideas or positions can also be observed in his fusing Marx, Durkheim and Weber (Bourdieu, 1985) to stress the importance of the social, the status and the power. Construing the power within economic, social and symbolic realms enable to enlarge economic capital to social, cultural and symbolic forms.

Bourdieu's attempts to balance objectivist/structuralist and subjectivist/constructivist views are embodied in his concept of "field" as "a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations, they impose upon their occupants [...] as well as by their objective relation to other positions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). Benson states that

> Bourdieu sees society as differentiated into a number of semi-autonomous fields (e.g., fields of politics, economics, religion, cultural production, etc.) governed by their own "rules of the game" *(doxa)* and offering their own particular economy of exchange and reward, yet whose basic oppositions and general structures parallel each other. These binary oppositions are reflections and refractions of the overall class division in society, between the dominant and dominated classes, but also the split within the dominant class, between dominant economic and political power on the one hand and dominated cultural power on the other (...) Fields, then, can be differentiated both according

> to the kinds of specific capital that are valued therein and by their degree of relative autonomy from each other and in particular from the dominant economic and political fields (1999: 464).

Fields are comprised of active agents endowed with special forms of capital which accrue from their memberships to groups. That fields are dynamic with ongoing power-hegemony relations, stem from various forms of capitals from which agents garner power. Forms of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital refer to tangible or intangible assets agents possess within the fields. Economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Suminar states that "Social capital exists as a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts. Investing in social capital acts as a kind of strategy which further serves as a mechanism to exchange other capitals. In other words, for group members social capital facilitates ownership of collective capital. Social capital is manifested in relations and networks which are useful resources in determining and reproduction of social positions" (2013: 203). Cultural capital refers to educational or family background from which agents within fields gain cultural habits, features or dispositions that deploy them in certain positions within fields that underline "distinction" (see Bourdieu, 1985).

Bourdieu frames symbolic capital as ". . .nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident" (1986: 204). Symbolic capital is commonly called prestige, reputation, renown, etc., which is the form in which different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1985: 724). Thus, symbolic capital is the overall power agents possess related to the three fundamental forms of capital: economic, cultural and social. For instance, a type of accent (as part of cultural capital) in a country may endow symbolic power or prestige to specific agents in the entrance to some professions, like "RP" *(received pronounciation)* in Britain, or "Turkish of Istanbul" *(İstanbul Türkçesi)* in Turkey. Cultural capital may converge with the symbolic one to underscore one's class superiorities through "distinction". The function of various forms of capital as "power" in the fields can be summarized as follows:

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of

> inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies (Bourdieu, 1998: 40).

Forms of capital fuse with one's *habitus* to exert power in hegemony relations in the field. Habitus is the core concept in Bourdieu's theory of practise along with fields. Agents perform in the fields in accordance with their habitus and the forms of capital they possess. Habitus is both a structured and structuring concept (Bourdieu, 1994, cited by Maton, 2008: 51) in terms of its constant and changeable nature at once. It is structured, because agents are born into fields in which fundamental rules of the games *(doxa)* are set before them. Their identities are shaped by dispositions which they sometimes carry all their lives. Habitus is also structuring because it changes as the agents' positions and forms of capital in the field change:

> *Habitus* constitutes — a set of durable, transposable dispositions — which regulate mental activity to the point where individuals are often unconsciously aware of their influence. In similar point of view, *habitus* concept is an avenue of explaining how social and cultural messages shape individual's thoughts and actions. The *habitus*, basically, is thus not wholly structured, though it still remains strongly influenced by historical, social and cultural contexts (Bourdieu, 1977: 2).

The crux of Bourdieu's theory of practise is its ability to bridge structuralist *(objectivist)* and existentialist *(subjectivist)* approaches which position "the agent" on two opposite sides. Structuralists propound that structural factors such as rules and/or taboos (as Levi-Strauss referred to) shape attitudes and behaviors and leave almost no room for personal choices. Existentialists on the other hand stress free will and personal choices in the construction of social reality and meaning (see Grenfell, 2008: 40–44). For Bourdieu, both and neither of these ideas are valid. He contends that the agents perform in personal and contextual conditions through *strategies* and *habitus* in the *fields* within the confines of their *capitals* which endow relatively active positions to them. Yet this position does not ignore the fact that fields have their pre-existing rules (*doxa)* and shape habitus in order to reproduce themselves.

Another important "structural constructivist" term coined by Bourdieu is the "strategy". Agents defy constraints and limits of the fields and counter other agents by the strategies they deploy, and the field is rendered dynamic and changeable, unlike the "structures". He refers to three main strategies in the fields: conservation, succession and subversion:

> Conservation strategies tend to be pursued by those who hold dominant positions and enjoy seniority in the field. Strategies of succession are attempts to gain access to dominant positions in a field and are generally pursued by new entrants. Finally strategies of subversion are pursued by those who expect little gain from the dominant groups (Swartz, 1997: 125).

New entrants to the field *(the heretics)* tend to oppose the rules and establish their own understanding of *doxa* while the elderly *(the orthodox)* wield their experiences in order to legitimize and conform to the rules, thus preserve the field. Forms of capital agents possess determine the potential strategies they employ. Strategies are thus employed by individuals to distinguish themselves from other groups and place them in advantageous position via the effective utilization of capital (Rudd, 2003, cited by Suminar, 2013: 204). Strategies enable agents to perform and make choices according to the habitus and the capital they possess in the fields.

Journalism as a Sub-Field of Cultural Production

In Bourdieu's sociology, a partial degree of autonomy from other fields and an established *doxa (rules of the game)* are basic requirements of field formation. Referring from this assumption, cultural production which consists of the production within mathematics, literature, law, science, etc. (Bourdieu, 1998: 53) have their unique *doxa* and are confined to specific limitations which differentiate them from other fields. Bourdieu also refers to the field of economy as a constitutive force along with the field of power within field theory.

Figure 1 explains the position of the field of cultural production (the literary and artistic field) (3) within the field of power (2). As Bourdieu states:

> The field of class relations (1) dominate all fields. Literary and artistic field (3) is contained within the field of power (2), while possesing a relative autonomy with respect to it. It occupies a dominated position (at the negative pole) in this field, which is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations (1). It is thus the site of a double hierarchy: the *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization is *success* (measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments.). The *autonomous* principle of hierarchization is *degree specific consecration* (literary or artistic prestige), i.e. the degree of recognition accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognize (1993: 37–38).

Bourdieu refers to the economic capital in the field of cultural production as "the economic world reversed" (Bourdieu, 1993), underscoring the cultural and social capital – and the symbolic as a convergence of these two – in this field, preceding the economic one. Thus agents in the field of cultural production tend to

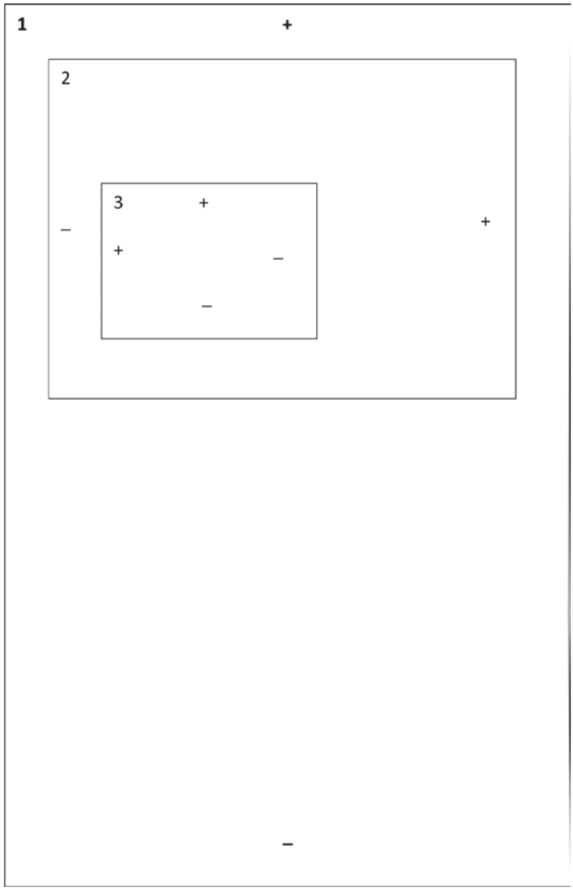


Figure 1: Literary and artistic field (the field of cultural production) (Bourdieu, 1993: 38)

value the consecration of their peers rather than “becoming rich”. The “economic world reversed” is a reverse logic of consecration compared to the economic or political fields. “Consecration of peers” is a sign of success that precedes other priorities different capitals require. Thus, being “best-seller” may connote lack of smybolic capital and success in the field of cultural production while being rewarded by an unknown commitee may be considered as prestigious. The “popular and low-brow taste” of some classes may be evaluated as devaluing “heteronomous” onslaughts to the field, while an inner circle of intellectuals consecrating

the peers may be seen as legitimate and necessary. Thus, in the most perfectly autonomous sector of the field of cultural production, the only audience aimed at is other producers (as with Symbolist poetry) (see Bourdieu, 1993: 39).

Bourdieu and research associates including Alain Accardo, Patrick Champagne, Remi Lenoir, Dominique Marchetti, and Louis Pinto develop a new paradigm for the sociology of journalism centered around the concept of the "media field" in their well-known journal "*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*" (Benson, 1999). Their basic thesis is that as journalism has become less autonomous from the economic field, its influence and pervasiveness have also increased. Journalism is placed in the field of cultural production by Bourdieu as an inner force which dominates the field negatively. The news media, serving as an agent of dominant power, are undermining the autonomy of other spheres of cultural production, and thus the optimal social conditions for the production of scientific knowledge and artistic innovation (Benson, 1999). Thus journalistic field within the confines of capitalism and its market rules, undermines the field of cultural production in general. The *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization through circulation rates or ratings determine the degree of autonomy in the journalistic field. Journalism is determinant in the field of cultural production despite its lower position compared to art, literature or science, as it exerts a "de facto monopoly on the large-scale informational instruments of production and diffusion of information" (see Bourdieu, 1998: 46). Journalists occupy positions of "structural inferiority" compared to intellectuals or politicians and their main goal is to get recognition from this "intellectual crowd" (Bourdieu, 1998: 46). Despite this lower position in the field of cultural production, they control the access of ordinary citizens but also of other cultural producers such as scholars, artists, and writers, to what is sometimes called "public space" (Bourdieu, 1998: 46). Thus journalists are somehow "authorities" in turning artists or politicians into "public figures" and render them visible. Being the mediators of "reality", journalists convey and frame the "selected" information, omit the rest and the "existence of things" depends on their visibility in the media. Thus, media changes (or reproduces) societal status hierarchies, undermine optimal social conditions for production of scientific knowledge, undermine democratic "reason" in political field (Benson, 1999: 480).

Figure 2 indicates the special position of journalism in the field of cultural production. The field of cultural production is divided between the field of restricted production (produced for other producers, that portion of the field closest to the cultural pole – small literary journals, avant-garde art and music, etc.) and the field of large-scale production (produced for general audiences, that portion of the field closest to the economic pole – mass entertainment, etc.)

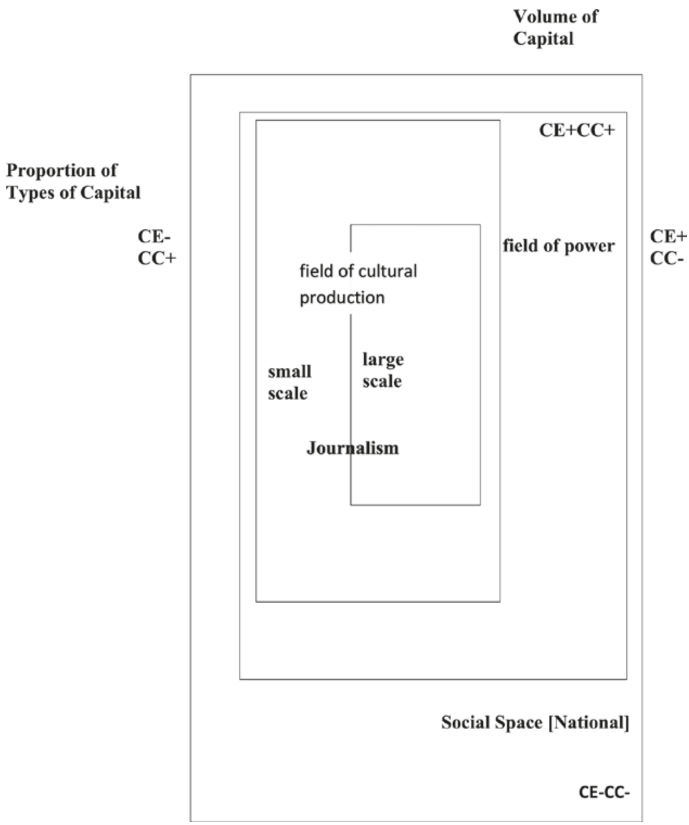


Figure 2: The structural location of journalism (adopted from Bourdieu's *The Rules of Art* by Benson, 1999)

(Benson, 1999). The journalistic field is mostly inside the field of large-scale production, and thus situated closer to the heteronomous pole of economic and political power. Moving from left to right, the proportion of economic capital (CE) to cultural capital (CC) increases. Moving from bottom to top, the total volume of capital, either cultural or economic, increases (Benson, 1999: 466). Thus, the large scale journalism lacks cultural capital and is closer to the field of power compared to the small scale one, but on the contrary the economic capital which it possesses increases.

Despite being part of the field of cultural production, journalistic field has a different structure. An important distinguishing feature of journalism compared

to the other fields of cultural production is its being subjected to “demand”, “opinion polls” and “market relations”. It is much more dependent on external forces than the other fields of cultural production, such as mathematics, literature, law, science, and so on (Bourdieu, 1998: 53). A regular newspaper requires constant income which generally can not be obtained from sales. Advertising, announcements and/or state subsidies determine the level of independence of the newspapers. Thus, the degree of autonomy of a news medium is no doubt measured by the percentage of income that it derives from these mentioned sources (see Bourdieu, 1998: 69). As stated above, “autonomy” is the linchpin of field formation. Even though a total autonomy is not possible for none of the fields, “a field’s autonomy is to be valued because it provides the pre-conditions for the full creative process proper to each field and ultimately resistance to the “symbolic violence” exerted by the dominant system of hierarchization” (Benson, 1999: 465). Thus some degree of autonomy enables to protect *the doxa* in the field by refracting the outside pressures that increase heteronomy. For Bourdieu, as journalism places itself more in the economic field, it loses its autonomy gradually.

Despite Bourdieu’s referring to Western experiences on journalism, namely the “mediterranean, democratic-corporatist and liberal” media systems (see Hallin and Mancini, 2004), his theory offers explanations for journalism worldwide. His stress on concentration and monopolization as onslaughts to the journalistic autonomy is a valid explanation for all journalistic practises in the neo-liberal era. Concentration of press, monopolization, directly effects the degree of autonomy of an individual journalist as it augments job insecurity by reducing the number of potential employers (Bourdieu, 1998: 69). The media ecology in a country is also related to the political system besides the economic field. Authoritarian regimes leave no room for independent journalism, usher in pernicious attacks on press freedom and impede autonomy. Overlapping of monopolization and political pressure is the worst case scenario for journalism, as it happens in Turkey.

Journalism differs from other sub-fields in the field of cultural production by lacking control mechanisms which detain journalists from making mistakes or checking mechanisms which ameliorate the practises in the profession. The journalistic field has no equivalent of the sort of immanent justice in the scientific world that censures those individuals who break certain rules and rewards those who abide by them with the esteem of their peers (as manifested most notably in citations and references) (Bourdieu, 1998: 53). Vice versa, journalism has a chaotic realm in which norms are violated easily. For instance, negative sanctions against individuals who fail to cite their sources for example, are practically

nonexistent (Bourdieu, 1998: 70–71). Yet "reversed economic world" which is a generic feature of the field of cultural production is also valid for journalism in its own terms, as Bourdieu states:

> Economic competition between networks or newspapers for viewers, readers, or for market share, takes place concretely in the form of a contest between journalists. This contest has its own, specific stakes the scoop, the "exclusive," professional reputations, and so on. This kind of competition is neither experienced nor thought of as a struggle purely for economic gain, even though it remains subject to pressures deriving from the position the news medium itself occupies within a larger set of economic and symbolic power relations (1998: 40–41).

This "weird" position of journalists between "opinion leaders", "semi-intellectuals", "conveyors of truth" and simply "workers for a company" result in deep fissures in the journalistic identity. As the symbolic capital of the profession is eroded because of the onslaughts of market values, the journalists tend to create sub fields in journalism field by alternative start-ups or NGO/philanthrophy backed organizations. New information technologies and digitalization also ease these efforts. As mainstream media melt down in countries like Turkey, endeavors for a more independent journalism spring up. Thus, journalism gets closer to "small-scale production" and as it splits, its autonomy increases. Bourdieu also states that "The individual journalist's autonomy depends on the position occupied by his newspaper within the larger space of newspapers, that is, its specific location between "the intellectual" and "the market" poles" (Bourdieu, 1998: 69). As the market pole is weakened by dual encroachments from the states and the market, "the intellectual pole" garners importance and attention. Journalism transits from "large scale" production to the "small scale" one which promises more autonomy in the field of cultural production (see figure 2). Thus, it is possible to contend that journalistic field in the world is in a process of reshape with the advent of crisis in capitalism and neo-liberalism (see Goyanes et al., 2020; Brock, 2013).

A Brief History of the Journalistic Field in Turkey

Turkey is a belatedly modernized, semi-peripheral country. What marks its modernization is the "time lag" (Ahıska, 2003; Ahmad, 2007) which brings about elite-based modernization projects imposed on the people. As "mini systems" have turned into "world economies" in the Wallersteinian sense (2004), Turkey has also transformed to a Western ally, nation-state which aimed at full functioning capitalism as a "semi-periphery". The phases of development of capitalism and modernization determine the path of journalism in Turkey. State bureaucracy

led by reformist Sultans in the Ottoman Empire, where lacking industrialization and capitalism had been the main obstacles, attempted to transubstantiate the system, altering super structure forms like bureaucracy, army and cultural life. The first newspaper was introduced to the society as an official modernization project by Sultan Mahmud II in 1831 under the title of Takvim-i Vekayi *(The Calender of Events*[1]*)*. This meant the generation of a state-led, heteronomous journalistic "pseudo field" which was positioned close, almost inside the State. Tercüman-ı Ahval *(The Interpretor of Conditions)* followed as the first private enterprise in 1860 which meant the creation of a relatively autonomous field. Yet these first efforts of print capitalism were heavily censored by Abdülhamid II who had been under the threat of the Jeune Turc opposition which aimed at constitutional monarchy and modernization in the Empire. Jeune Turc press in exile had also functioned heteronomously as the mouthpiece of the adversaries. Ottoman press sprang up after the 1908 Revolution which ushered in the second constitutional monarchy era in the history of the Ottoman Empire (see Kocabaşoğlu, 2010). This short period brought about a relative autonomy and the *doxa* of the field was attempted to be set by organizations like The Ottoman Press Association *(Cemiyet-i Matbuat-ı Osmaniye)* (see Aydın, 2010). Yet these efforts were circumscribed by the autocratic measures of the Union and Progress Party *(Ittihat ve Terakki)* and the triumvirate of Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas whose priority had been the creation of a national economy, suppression of the minorities and the unity of the Empire during the First World War. The will not share power by no means resulted in an autocratic rule which terminated the autonomy of all fields.

The Collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the Independence War inaugurated a new era for the press in Turkey. Foundation of the Anatolian Agency (*Anadolu Ajansı*), the İrade-i Milliye Newspaper and the Directorate General of Press and Information *(Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdiriyet-i Umumisi)* were efforts to control the information flow during the war in the 1920's. Pro-Kemalist publications were also supported financially (Koloğlu, 2006; Topuz, 2003). With the advent of the Turkish Republic, the press was authorized to be the display of the modernization efforts. The new Regime expected "reform journalism" *(inkılap gazeteciliği)* from the newspapers (Sertel, 1987; Sertel, 2000;

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1 *Vaka-i Mısriyye* was the first newspaper in Turkish, published inside the borders of the Ottoman Empire by Mehmet Ali Pasha of Kavala in Egypt in 1828. Because he had rebelled against the Sultan, his newspaper is generally ignored as the first official one in the Empire.

Yalman, 1997). This meant to support the Regime unconditionally under every circumstance which included rapid superstructural modernization projects and the foundation of a nation-state under Turkish identity which excluded minorities, especially the Kurds. Kurdish revolts were quelled by military measures and the press was controlled by the enactment of the Law on the Maintenance of Order *(Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu)* between 1925 and 1929. These were the times of heavy state control over the press. Both domestic and foreign developments –one party-regime aiming at transforming the state and the Great Depression which facilitated a state-directed and state-controlled economy (Akman, 1998: 86) paved the way for the Regime to implement authoritarian measures. Press had no autonomy by then and it was almost impossible to speak about a "field" in the Bourdieusian sense. The Regime aiming a modernized, secular nation-state as rapid as possible, took almost every group as a "threat". This fear had substantial bases given the conditions which led Ottoman Empire's collapse. Reactionary movements which aimed at reinstating the Caliphate and the Monarchy, micro nationalist movements, especially Kurdish nationalism triggered historical fears of the nationalist Kemalist elite. The press was evaluated as a revolutionary tool to ease the transformation and act as a communication base between the State and the people. Authoritarianism of the Party, social conditions which was basically shaped by low literacy and poverty had left no room for an independent press. Not only the press, but also the whole cultural production field had been engulfed by the state which was marked by a revolution aiming at transforming the Country's super and substructure completely.

With the advent of the multi-party system in 1946, the press had a short period of autonomy. Press organizations like Association of Journalists *(Gazeteciler Cemiyeti)* (1946) and The Journalists' Union of İstanbul *(İstanbul Gazeteciler Sendikası)* (1952) were established as indicators of a relatively more autonomous field to set the *doxa* and protect the autonomy of the field[2]. Yet the authoritarianism of the Democratic Party which came to power in 1950 arrived soon. As the power concentrated within few hands and the struggle with other parties intensified, the Democratic Party increased pressure over the press. The enactment

2 Turkish Press Union *(Türk Basın Birliği)* (1939–1946) precedes these organizations. It was founded to organize the rights of press workers against the employers. The organization was also authorized by the government to register journalists in order to confine the boundries of performing journalism. This was an indirect ban on adversaries. The then ruling party – Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)* – disbanded the organization when it was about to be seized by its adversaries. It never could act as an independent organization in the field (see Üstün, 2013 and Topuz, 2003).

of the 6733 law in 1956 eased the censorship on press while also paving the way for libel suits. Journalists' Union was closed in 1957. In the very same year, announcement and advertising revenues and the import of papers were monopolized which resulted in severe economic problems for newspaper companies (Topuz, 2003; Koloğlu, 1993). These were serious onslaughts from the field of politics which terminated the autonomy of the field. Thus, transition to a multi-party system and mitigating the effects of the statist economic agenda did not result in change in the political culture of Turkey to "emancipate" newspapers.

After the military coup in 1960, Turkey enjoyed a short period of press freedom until the next military intervention in 1971 and the military coup in 1980. In between, quality papers sprang up in parallel with the heavy politicization of the society. Newspapers were relatively autonomous at that time with high circulation rates. Family-led companies dominated the ownership in the journalistic field. Yet 1980 coup brought about right-wing, neo-liberal economic policies which aimed at Turkish-Islamic political identity. Family-led newspaper companies turned into capital-led holdings, media-industries which wielded journalism as a carrot and stick tool in their relations to the state apparatus (see Adaklı, 2006 and 2010). Thus, media autonomy has been circumscribed by market relations and capitalism – as Bourdieu explains for journalism in large-scale cultural production in figure 2 – in addition to the historical pressure from the State. Transition from a centralized economy with heavy military influence and state-run media, to a free market model with privately owned newspapers and television stations, introduced clientelism into the country's media scene in the 1980s (Tunç, 2018). The corporate monopolization over legacy media ownership can be said to have begun after the lifting of the ban on the private ownership of television and radio channels in 1994. Prior to this date, the state was the sole operator of television and radio broadcasting institutions in Turkey. The ban on private ownership of broadcasting institutions meant that corporations could only operate printed media until 1994 (Yeşil, 2016). Since the 1990s, free market policies have led to an unprecedented number of worldwide mergers and acquisitions among transnational media corporations, which in turn, aggressively have exploited the opportunities for privatization in Turkey (Tunç, 2018: 150).

The currently ruling party in Turkey – Ak Parti (Justice and Development Party) – came to power in 2002 and after a while started to follow a similar path with the Democratic Party of 1950s which annihilated freedom of press after a discourse of liberation. Deregulation policies and oligopol media structure have been strengthened by the transfer of media companies to cronies via Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency *(BDDK–Bankacılık Düzenleme ve*

Denetleme Kurulu).[3] By bestowing cheap state bank credits to the associates, a crony capitalism has been enacted to enable capital transfer in the media sector. Autonomy in the journalistic field has been circumscribed both by monopolization and authoritarianism which have been accompanied by a neo-liberal discourse strategy that has polarized the society. The Gezi Park protests in 2013 and the foiled coup attempt in 2016 have been two major events which have scaled up fears of the ruling party and pushed it to consolidate power. Turkey is currently 157 in the ranking of press freedom rates among 180 countries in 2019 (*https://rsf.org/en/ranking*). In addition to its partisan politics and the shift from family-ownership to conglomerate control, Turkish government intervention has reshaped the media scene over the last 15 years (Tunç, 2018: 150). Yeşil summarizes the characteristics of the Turkish media system as follows:

> Given its commercial nature based on private ownership and free market competition, Turkey's media system resembles its counterparts in Europe, Latin America, and Asia that experience similar problems stemming from concentration, conglomeration, and clientelism. In the meantime, it finds itself in the same league with countries in the Middle East and Southeast Asia in terms of the dominant role of the state in political economic affairs and the contentious relationships between media, military, and political Islam. Turkey's media system also bears similarities to that of other authoritarian regimes, such as Russia, with regard to the articulation of state power with neoliberal elements. It is a hybrid system that blends commercial and statist imperatives, which are generally regarded as contradictory forces but exist in a symbiotic relationship (2016:4).

All in all, journalism in Turkey has a history of limited autonomy because of belatedly developed capitalism, the peripheral modernization process and the political culture that result in the control of all fields by the field of politics, namely political parties embodied as the state. Underdevelopment of the public sphere –because of authoritarian statist measures like the military interventions and/or the coups – to undergird print capitalism politically and financially has also been an obstacle as a corollary to that. Neo-liberal and authoritarian policies which result in the monopolization of the sector are additional factors that impede autonomy in the field. Journalism in Turkey has always had strong ties to

3 For the current capital distribution in the Turkish media market, see Aslı Tunç (2018) All is Flux: A Hybrid Media Approach to Macro-Analysis of the Turkish Media, Middle East Critique, 27:2, 141–159, DOI: 10.1080/19436149.2018.1433581. A project by BIANET (Independent Communication Network) and Reporters Without Borders under the name of Media Ownership Monitor Turkey (MOM) also yields current information on media ownership in Turkey: https://bianet.org/english/politics/208107-who-controls-the-media-in-turkey.

the political field as the center of the field of power. Studies indicate that political parallelism has been high in the Turkish press through its history from 1830s to 2000s (Bayram, 2010). Thus, journalism in Turkey is either engulfed by the political or the economic field or by both and harbors many problems of autonomy due to the interplays between the state, the economy and the society throughout its history[4].

Findings of the Research

> "*Journalism is one of the areas where you find the greatest number of people who are anxious, dissatisfied, rebellious, or cynically resigned, where very often (especially, obviously, for those on the bottom rung of the ladder) you find anger, revulsion, or discouragement about work that is experienced as or proclaimed to be "not like other jobs." But we're far from a situation where this spite or these refusals could take the form of true resistance, and even farther from the possibility of collective resistances" (Bourdieu, 1998: 38).*

The inspiration and findings of this research are best paraphrased by Bourdieu in the epigraph above. His remarks on the actual workers of the field are also valid for prospective journalists in Turkey, awaiting their "dark future" in the job. Yet they are also far from a spirit of struggle, referring to their despair and loneliness as sole individuals who can't fight "the system" alone.

This research which aims at understanding the ideas and motives of journalism students about the journalistic field in Turkey and continuities/ruptures in the field is comprised of semi-structured, in-depth interviews held with 10 journalism students from 3 universities (2 from Katip Çelebi, 3 from Yaşar and 5 from Ege University) between March and April 2018. Interviews have lasted approximately one or one and a half hour. Interviewees define themselves politically as Ataturkist[5] (2), socialist (1), conservative (1), Muslim (2), humanitarian (1), nationalist (2) and left-wing (1). As a result of a high saturation point, as *no new information or themes [have been] observed in the data* (Guest et.al, 2006: 59), interviews have been halted. Interviewees have been asked questions on the

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4 Needless to say that "the media/journalism" refers to the "mainstream media/journalism" in Turkey. Many journalists throughout history struggled against the established media system in the Country. Nowadays, journalists who have been ousted from the mainstream media are trying to create a relative autonomy by shifting journalism from "large scale" production to the "small scale" one (alternative media) by the help of information technologies.

5 Ataturkism is a mainstream ideology in Turkey referring loyalty to the ideas of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. The main tenets of this ideology are secularism, Westernization, Turkish nationalism and anti-imperialism.

autonomy and generic features of the journalistic field in Turkey, prerequisites and types of capital in the entrance to the field and possible strategies awaiting them in the future. The data of the research is analyzed by theme analysis. The themes have been formed before the interviews and the questions were asked accordingly.

"When There is Something Adversarial . . .": Autonomy in the Field

Situation of journalism in Turkey and the historical continuity of these conditions have been dissected in the previous parts of this article. In parallel with this section, findings of the research indicate that for journalism students who have attended this research, journalistic field in Turkey is totally heteronomous, under attack and unsafe, influential on society but uninfluential on politics. Yet newspapers are seen as the most trustworthy medium in the field of news production compared to television or digital platforms.

Being asked if there is political pressure on newspapers in Turkey, all interviewees have agreed:

> Q: Do you think there is pressure on journalists?
> There is. . .on a large scale moreover. . .
> Q: This pressure. . .is it political or economic?
> I think it is political. . .When there is something adversarial, they immediately interfere. . . *(Ege University, 1st grade).*
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> "Of course, there is. . .channels are being shut down, newspapers are closed, journalists are being arrested. . .no need for more words. No need even to say yes" *(Yaşar University, 4th grade).*
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> Mostly political. . .well, the situation in the country. . .political order. . .the collapse of judiciary. . . The left has lost power. The ones who raise voice have decreased. . .because we see the end of the ones who raise voice. . . *(Ege University, 4th grade)*

The content of this pressure is evaluated as both political and economic, but the stress is upon politics. The highly politicized judiciary, through broad interpretations of the Press Law, the Internet Law, and the Broadcasting Law, as well as application of the Penal Code and Anti-Terror Law provisions, criminalizes media practitioners, bans and confiscates publications, shuts down websites, and prosecutes writers, publishers, and artists (Yeşil, 2016: 8). This dire atmosphere is mocked by students with sarcasm:

> When I meet new people, when they ask me what I study and when I say journalism, they react as "waoooww good department". But the ones who are on the ground, – and

this is really sad to hear all these – they say "Oo have you checked a prison for yourself?" or "Where do you plan to serve your time?"*. . .(Ege University, 3rd grade)*

Q: How did family react when they heard you will study journalism?

"(Laughing) At that times there were. . . let me not mention names. . . many journalists were at Silivri *[penetiary where convicted journalists and/or political prisoners are kept, a.n]*. . .the first words of my grandfather were: "Well, you do your apprenticeship in Silivri then" (*laughing*)" *(Ege University, 3rd grade)*

The rigors of journalism in Turkey precipitates an atmosphere in which newspapers and journalists are seen as impotent and submissive. This position contradicts with what Bourdieu determines about the journalistic field: "Indeed, in a certain way, the journalistic field is part of the political field on which it has such a powerful impact (. . .) It follows that the power wielded by the journalistic field reinforces the tendencies of political actors to accede to the expectations and the demands of the largest majority" (Bourdieu, 1998: 76). Contrary to Bourdieu's contention, interviewees believe that journalism has no power on politics:

Q: Do you think newspapers can affect the society and politics in Turkey?

Unfortunately, not in Turkey. . .as I said, because government is exerting too much pressure. . .if we have had a free media, it would have affected but not in Turkey unfortunately. . . *(Ege University, 1st grade).*

In 1990s, you know the news of Hurriyet *[a prominent mainstream newspaper, a.n.]* . . .It had an immense power. But now it does not affect at all. It does not lead politics; politics give direction to the newspapers. They set the agenda; the press pursues them. Because of my age, I don't know well enough, but my research indicates that before 2000's, press would give direction. You know what they would say for Aydın Doğan *[the then-owner of Hürriyet]*, "He used to bring down governments". Now it is the opposite *(Ege University, 3rd grade).*

Notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions and limitations, newspapers are seen as the most trustworthy medium for getting news. Despite following digital platforms for news, students mainly believe that print papers possess a checking mechanism to stymie fake news which is assessed as the main problem of the digital news ecology nowadays:

I dont trust internet at all. . .because there is a myriad of fake news. . .but the best is printed newspapers *(Ege University, 1st grade).*

To me, they *(print papers, a.n)* seem to transmit certain news (. . .) I mean at a newspaper, they get the news, it goes to editors, goes through a myriad of processes, then

> they present it to you. I mean because there is sort of a ring of truth... *(Katip Çelebi, 3rd grade)*

"Your Uncle, My Aunt...": Entrance to the Field, Types of Capital

Bourdieu coins different types of capitals other than economic capital in order to diversify his analysis to dissect power relations in a given field. Formulating the fields as realms in which relations of domination, subordination and symbolic violence take place, he differentiates his concept from "structures". Thus, the dynamic nature of the field stems from agents endowed with different types of capital that endure power/class relations in a society and these relations are not solely determined by substructural forces as envisioned by Marx. Durkheimian and Weberian sociology referring to collective groups and status positions in the formation of the society inspire Bourdieu in his widening the concept of capital to social, cultural and symbolic forms. Cumulative exposure to certain social conditions instills in individuals an ensemble of durable and transposable dispositions that internalize the necessities of the extant social environment, inscribing inside the organism the patterned inertia and constraints of external reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus, social and cultural capital is an amalgam of these dispositions as well as acquired features.

Interviews indicate that social capital precedes cultural capital in the entrance to the field. Remembering that "social capital exists as a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts" (Suminar, 2013), the hegemony of crony-capitalism in the journalistic field in Turkey comes to the mind. At that moment, social capital turns into "negative social capital" where outsiders are excluded and leveling norms are downwarded (Portes, 1998):

> "What must be valid is merits and capabilities. One who deserves has to be employed. Your uncle, my aunt...decreases the quality in the field. From this perspective, the faculty from which one is graduated is very important. But when it comes to cronyism... the education you got loses importance, the salut of your uncle comes first..." *(Ege University, 3rd grade)*

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> "Recently I have been to a career meeting. I have been to a conference by Fatih Portakal *[a famous anchorman in Turkey.a.n.]* (...) He said, "I studied international relations." (...) One day his uncle tells him "Would you like to appear on TV?" and he says "Yes". This has disappointed me. I said to myself "Do you really need an uncle?" To me one needs a good education first" (*Katip Çelebi University, 1st grade).*

Bourdieu posits that even the ratio of new entrants to the field has ramifications on the autonomy of the field (1993, 1998). An unrestrained and unbounded rise in the field harbor risks of domination by "the orthodox" and the oppression of "the heretics". "The heretics" are new entrants to the field who are willing and prone to change *the doxa (generally accepted rules in the field).* From this perspective, interviewees complain about the flexibility of boundaries in the journalistic field and the invalidity of cultural capital acquired from journalism education[6]. To them, journalism education to increase cultural capital in the field, has to offer specialties which journalism candidates from other fields would not be able to possess. The flexibility of the boundaries of the field is another concern:

> Q: Do you think anyone can become a journalist?
> Yes. For instance, at the newspaper where I did my apprenticeship, the owner of the newspaper was not a journalist at all. He had graduated from a lousy 2-year department. (. . .) Well I think everyone can perform journalism in some areas, social media for example like in Gezi. . .but professional journalism must be left to us.
> Q: How can this be done? An enactment?
> "Might be. . .I don't know how they will impede that. . .in fact I believe that it is not true to be restricting but. . .maybe juristically as you said. . ." *(Ege University, 3rd grade)*
> ---------
> Q: Does journalism have prerequisites? Can anyone become a journalist?
> "Well might be. . .but there is expertise in journalism. I mean economy for example (. . .) we don't have an education on expertise at all. Only writing news, writing news, writing news. . ."
> Q: So, do you say that "Journalism education must differentiate us from others by increasing our specialties in the field"?
> Exactly. . . *(Ege University, 3rd grade)*

An important structural problem in the entrance to the journalistic field is the unwillingness of the students to studying in journalism departments[7]. Due to

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6 A recent survey conducted on the alumni of journalism departments in Turkey indicate that majority of the participants agree that it has to be a prerequisite to graduate from journalism departments to become a journalist. Majority also believe that outsiders limit job options (for details see Bezirgan Arar, 2019).

7 A research which is comprised of a survey to dissect the views of journalism students on the profession and journalism education in Turkey indicates that %37,85 (215 out of 568 participants), as the highest score, claim that they entered journalism department because of their score in the university entrance exam. %32,39 (184 out of 568) utter that journalism is the profession that fits best to their ideals (Korkmaz, 2012). Another research which is a focus group interview with 11 students does not make a clear distinction among answers and suffices to say that "there are students who choose the

the problems in the education system in Turkey, most students in social sciences have limited options in the university entrance examination. Studying in these departments in high school, they can solely attend to the colleges of education, faculty of letters or the communication departments. If they don't want to become a teacher or historian, etc., the only choice left for them is studying communication. Only two of whom I have interviewed had selected the journalism department willingly, while the rest is either obligatorily opted the department because of the social sciences attendance in high school or they just selected the university, not the department because of practical reasons like staying with the family, moving to a bigger city, etc. Consequently, only 5 students out of 10, plan to perform journalism actively:

> "I was at high school, 3rd grade. I was at the social sciences department. *What choices do you have here?* Either you will become a teacher or. . .I did not want that. Then I checked for private sector. Public Relations, journalism. . ." *The worst are these* if I don't want to become a teacher" I said to myself." (*Katip Çelebi University, 3rd grade, emphasis by the author)*
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>
> "At the social sciences department in high school, we don't have many options. *First, I wanted to become a soldier*, an officer. But I could not unfortunately. . .because of my eyes. . .so I checked what I can do. I came to study journalism" *(Ege University, 3rd grade, emphasis by the author).*

Despite its downsides as a profession, journalism still keeps its symbolic capital for some of the journalism students. Symbolic capital as being the convergence of cultural, social and economic capital, endows the ultimate power of legitimacy to its owners. The legitimacy and continuity of the other types of capital are rendered possible by symbolic capital which is embodied as ranks, honors or grades (see Bourdieu, 1985). Thus, it harbors "recognition" and "distinction" by which agents present themselves to the others. For some of the journalism students "yellow press card"[8] endows a type of symbolic capital and charisma to its owners, also reminds Bourdieu's "reversed economic world" in the sense of economic capital in the field of cultural production:

> . . .. that yellow press card. . . it reminds me the idea that I may investigate everything for the people, I may see wherever I want. . .you can check anything and no one can say

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department as the first choice in the university exam and there are ones who come to the department as a result of the university entrance exam scores" (Bayraktutan et.al., 2018).

8 This card is given to journalism professionals by the State in Turkey as a controversial enforcement.

> a word. In that way, it is a charismatic job. I would like to be mentioned as a journalist *(Katip Çelebi, 1st grade)*
>
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>
> When you go the crime scene, you show your yellow card to the police and get the necessary information and when other people see that, their eyes shine. . ."oo I wish I had that information" they say. . . have I chosen journalism to envy others or to make them feel my charisma?. . .No. But if you ask whether it is a charismatic profession, yes it is. . . *(Katip Çelebi, 3rd grade)*

While some students still value journalism, some of them see it as a profession which loses its discursive authority and symbolic capital in the society, as current journalism is seen embedded to the ruling party:

> In old times, when you said, "I will become a journalist", this was attractive. . .you would have been well respected but now respect is diminishing gradually. . .respect is diminishing.
>
> Q: Why is that?
>
> Myriads of journalists have been arrested. The government is arresting journalists, keeping them under pressure. So, in people's eyes, the currently working journalists are seen as "yandaş" *(henchman, a.n.) (Ege University, 1st grade).*

For other participants, journalism is defined as a "charismatic" profession because it has the ability to impact society. Utilization of utmost mental skills also undergirds the image of journalism and endows its owners "the honours" of being superior to inform the rest:

> (. . .) At the end of the day, you inform the society. . . I mean people gain awareness by your help. . . you teach some things. . . I mean you help them to learn things. . . I dont know if there is anything more charismatic than intelligence in the world. . .
>
> Q: So you believe that journalists are potent. . .they have the power to impact?
>
> Hmm, yes. . . *(Ege University, 3rd grade).*

"My War Against the System. . .": Habitus and Strategies

One of Bourdieu's distinctive concepts, the habitus, endows individuals the potence to perform in the fields via the capitals they possess and the dispositions they internalize. Habitus, that *system of dispositions* which acts as a mediation between structures and practise (Bourdieu, 1973: 56) are "personal dispositions toward sensing, perceiving, thinking, acting, according to models interiorized in the course of different processes of socialization" (Benson, 1999). Habitus refers to the structuring power of the fields on agents, yet it also structures the field via agents' strategies. The dispositions agents internalize do not only refer to mental

abilities but also corporeal tendencies which Bourdieu stresses in his thought to overcome the Cartesian dualism of body and mind. Thus, habitus encompasses an agent's total internalization of social reality both ideationally and materially.

When asked about the habitus of a journalist, students have agreed upon good communication skills. Being "extrovert, warm, talkative, good at communication with strangers, good with words, social, dynamic, resistant, objective, consistent" have been some of the other traits mentioned:

> Q: What makes you suitable for the job?
> I am good with words. . . of course I don't mean manipulation. I can use words, I don't have difficulties in communicating with people *(Katip Çelebi University, 3rd grade).*
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> Q: Do you plan to work as a journalist?
> "In fact, I love my university and faculty. But I could not get used to the department. I noticed that it is not for me".
> Q: What makes you think that way?
> "Hımmm how can I say? Because I am more sedate and quiet. . ."
> Q: Introvert?
> "Because I am introvert. . . here you need to be –how can I say – more extrovert and dynamic. . .that's why I think it is inconvenient for me" *(Ege University, 4th grade).*

Habitus is directly related to the strategies in the field. As Bourdieu states, agents oppress and are oppressed in the fields via strategies. Thus, strategies endure power relations in a field and enable the function of dynamic "structures". The difference between "structures" and "fields" stem from this dynamism. As stated above, Bourdieu defines three types of strategies: conservation, succession and subversion (Swartz, 1997). While the old ones – *the orthodox* – in the field are prone to conserve *the doxa (generally accepted and taken for granted rules of the field)*, the new ones – *the heretics* – are inclined to adopt the system if they have gains or subvert the system, the established rules and procedures if they do not have expectations from the dominant groups. This inclination is best explained by the type of capital agents possess. While the orthodox accumulate social capital and set the rules accordingly, the heretics usually want cultural capital to precede social one, as they are new in the field and they want a merit system, based on skills and talents. They also want to transform and defy the rules and mechanisms which they either see as old-fashioned or malfunctioning. Thus, newcomers in the fields harbor idealistic proclivities in the sense of field-capital relations. As Bourdieu states for journalism: "Younger and less established journalists are more inclined to invoke the principles and values of the "profession" against the more "realistic," or more cynical, stipulations of their 'elders'" (1998: 70–71). Yet, strategies are also determined according to viability. Bourdieu

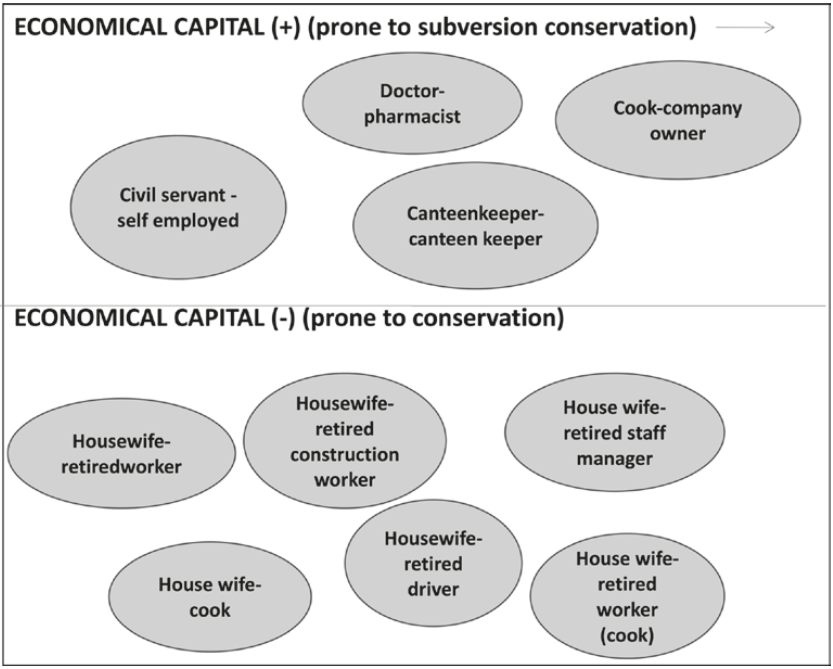


Figure 3: Capital possession of families of the interviewees and the possible strategies in the field

coins the term in terms of flexibility of agents in their actions against the determinative power of "structures" on individuals. Thus, agents act according to what they will gain or lose. "Class" – as a determinant in terms of not only economic capital, but convergence of social, cultural and symbolic capital – plays a decisive role in the generation of strategies.

Figure 3 indicates capital possession of the families of the interviewees. Majority of the interviewees come from working class families with lower incomes which evokes the idea that students from these families would become adapted or conform to the rules to be able to keep their job. An interesting point is that not only students from lower income, but also the ones from better off families are prone to strategies of succession or conservation which means a wide acceptance of the *status quo* in the field, opposite to what Bourdieu contends above. None of the interviewees declare an open war against the journalism system in

Turkey. Despite their complaints, students are in a state of “learned helplessness” in which they feel despondent:

> Q: Do you think you can subvert this system you complain about?
> “I can’t. . .I am an individual. If I organize people, move together, maybe. But as an individual, as a reporter for instance, I don’t believe I can subvert the huge system. *In the end we are workers of media bosses.* Compulsorily. . .we don’t want but *that’s the situation.*” *(Ege University,3rd grade, parents are both store owners, emphasis by the author)*
> ----------
> Q: If you become a journalist in the future, do you think you would try to change the system?
> Yes, yes certainly. I would like to be an innovator. But *they wouldn’t let me play like that* I guess *(laughs) (Ege University, 1st grade, civil servant (mother)-self employed (father)).*
> --------
> My war against the system. . .well I criticize myself on that issue, like many people I am just a dissident *(“kuru muhalefet”, a.n.)* (. . .) *Would I bring it to the point where I combat the system? No, I wouldn’t.* Consequently, *there is a settled system* and unfortunately I am a bit pessimist about that. Because I think it would not change, i would not have messed with “these things at all. . .” *(Katip Çelebi University, 3rd grade, housewife-retired driver).*

In conservation strategies, families, friends and current workers in the field collaborate to inculcate conformation to the system. Beats like judicial or political reporting are unfavored while sports and entertainment reporting are promoted as “less dangerous”:

> They *(referring to currently working journalists, a.n.)* for example told me to go to sports section. “Do sports reporting, don’t enter politics, don’t mess with politics” etc. *(Ege University, 3rd grade, cook (mother), – company owner (father)).*
> ------
> “We are watching TV with my family and I make comments about news blu blu. In their opinion, I am not pro-government, and this will be against me. This will be bad for me. My mother knows nothing already, she is illiterate. She says 'don’t mess with anything at these times. . .' etc. My father – because we are Kurdish – says 'don’t talk everywhere, join the side which will be good for you' *(she laughs)*”.
> Q: Do you think you can change the system?
> I wish, I mean. . .but the conditions make you pull back. . . *(Ege University, 4th grade, housewife-retired construction worker).*

Some of the students’ strategy is total exit from the field. As discussed above, Bourdieu refers to two main types of strategies[9], with an inspiration from Christianity: conservation *(orthodoxy)* and submission *(heresy)*. It is hard to

9 Succession may be evaluated as a conservation strategy. Jourdain and Naulin already explain two basic strategies: conservation and subversion (2016: 126).

assume outsiders as active agents of the field, yet in a way they are at the close corners of it, making an impact. Leaving the field totally when one is in the game or the determination to keep oneself out while already being a partial part of the field are also types of strategies that have an impact on the ongoing relations in the field. This appears as "aversion" or "apostasy" as a third strategy in the field (Başaran-İnce, 2019):

> Q: Do you plan to do journalism?
> Not now, my ideas have changed.
> Q: Why?
> Things are not bright at all. . .also I have apprenticed at a local newspaper. If locals are like that, I can't imagine the national ones. They did not let me put titles, "it causes trouble, this that blu blu". They sent me to cover things, but they withdrew my titles, they added things to the cover. . .that's why I said to myself "if it is like that here. . .." *(Ege University, 3rd grade).*
> ------
> Q: Do you plan to perform the job in the future?
> Well no, not for now. . .
> Q: Why?
> Because when I see the recent conditions, it is not a profession with a bright future. That's why. . .I would like to do it but. . .because it is difficult, I plan to move to another sector *(Ege University, 1st grade).*

A research in the field which is conducted between July 2017 and February 2018 with the journalism alumni of 2010–2017 (Bezirgan-Arar, 2019) also indicates that the participants of this research have also been quite despondent about their current situation and the future of journalism in Turkey. A conspicuous finding of this study is that only %27,8 of the participants work as journalists and more than half of the participants plan to quit journalism and change their profession if they find a chance. Participants also claim that they can keep their job secure if they refrain from expressing their political ideas openly. This reminds the fact that "apostasy" is a more widespread and strong strategy in the current dire situation of journalism than assumed.

Conclusion

Findings of this research which aims at understanding the features of the journalistic field in Turkey from viewpoints of journalism students indicate that there is an overlap between the general features of the journalistic field scrutinized historically and the way journalism students currently perceive it. The distinctive feature of the journalistic field which can be summarized as decreasing autonomy in the process of coming closer to the market pole (big scale of

production) in the field of cultural production is also valid for the journalistic field in Turkey. Pressure from the political field in tandem with the economic one is a distinctive feature which can be added to Bourdieu's assessments of the field, regarding Turkey.

Interviews held with journalism students in this research indicate that the field is assessed as totally heteronomous, under attack of the political and economic system in Turkey, as usually happens in its history. An important point is that most of the interviewees believe that the situation for the journalists has deteriorated in recent years. Because we do not have a chance for comparison, it is hard to say whether this pessimism is the ramification of recent developments in Turkey after the 2016 foiled coup attempt. In the last years, along with legitimate measures against the coup organizers, the widening of political pressure to all the adversaries has limited the freedom of speech and resulted in illiberal policies in the Country. Downsizing in the journalistic field and perpetual downgrading rates of press freedom which are marked by international organizations may also be opined as main reasons of students' pessimism, both the current ones and the alumni. As Bourdieu states, a total autonomy in any field is impossible, because there is an interplay and relationality between every field (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). What students want to refer is that the journalistic field is totally engulfed by the political field firstly and the economic one subsequently which rises a suspicion whether there is currently a journalistic field in Turkey at all. According to them, the ruling party's pressure on journalists, the judiciary which takes sides against reporters performing their job and the illiberal atmosphere in the Country minimizes the autonomy of the field.

Apart from structural problems and macro reasons caused by the political system in the Country, journalism as a micro field in itself is evaluated as heteronomous due to the conditions in the entrance to the field. Flexible boundaries which result in an influx of other candidates like the alumni of law faculties or international relations departments are claimed to attack the autonomy of the field and the cultural capital journalism students are required to possess. Thus, journalism students complain about a journalistic field which does not protect them against the "outsiders". In spite of their awareness of efforts like citizen journalism and the value they bestow on it, they believe that they need to be distinctive to be the professional of the job. In this regard, they complain about the journalism education in Turkey which does not endow them with specialties that differentiate them from their rivals. Cultural capital is the first source of legitimacy and it provides the ultimate autonomy and power to journalism (see Stringer, 2018: 1993). Thus, the students have a point in complaining about the lacking boundaries of professional journalism and the impotence of cultural

capital in the field. Another moot point for them is the hegemony of social capital in the entrance to the field which turns into "negative capital" by reproducing the "crony capitalism". The negative correlation between cultural and social capital harbors potential tensions between the orthodox and the heretics by reducing merits. Despite these downsides, journalism is still evaluated as a charismatic profession with high symbolic capital.

Given their position as partial "outsiders" or "newcomers" to the field, the students are prone to conservation strategies which aim at protection of the *status quo* and the *doxa* in the field. This "conservative" stance is too "realistic" given the age and position of journalism students, yet taking into account the family capital and the general atmosphere journalism functions in, one can say that we have a case of "precocity" in a negative sense that kills the idealism of newcomers to the field. Taking into account "the reality", journalism students learn the rules of the game even before they enter the game. Another important aspect of the strategies employed in the field is "apostasy" which can be defined as an escape or exit from the field even before entrance. The interviewees have a proclivity toward other professions because of the current situation of journalism in Turkey. The risk of unemployment and the dire conditions of reporting result in total withdrawal from the field.

All in all, current narrative of the prospective journalists overlap with the historical features of the journalistic field in Turkey. The field is perceived as totally engulfed by the field of politics, weaker compared to its past and more heteronomous than ever before. This reminds a worsening, ever-lasting "status quo" which will not be easy to overcome.

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Semiray Yücebaş

Construction of Gender Codes in Conservative Media: Conserved Gender

Introduction

It is a known fact that the dominant assumptions about gender codes are reproduced through the media. There is no doubt that this construction is more likely to be seen in the media organs and in the content of the publications based on the conservative ideology. This is because conservative ideology and related assumptions are intended to preserve the dominant viewpoint in the construction of gender codes. To understand why, it is necessary to put forward the general perspective of conservative ideology towards society and the state. According to conservative ideology, society appears to be the source of a range of community-like relationships (Güler, 2008: 132). Society is not composed of classes or individuals in conflict with each other. Based on conservatism, society is perceived an organic integrity, which is gathered around a common past and common values and integrated in a hierarchical structure, imposing itself on its past and present; in other words, a cultural existence (Öğün, 2008). Accordingly, society is an organic structure with the articulation and interrelation of its functions and also with the necessity of cumulative development over time (Nispet, 1986: 25). With the age of revolutions, this integrity was damaged and destroyed by ancient social traditions. Therefore, in conservatism, mechanization, the deterioration of rural structure and social order, and proletarianization are opposed (Güler, 2008: 123). Conservative ideology aims to protect the traditional society that has been damaged and to make it sustain in the future. For this reason, conservatism is the revitalization of the tradition, making the tradition conscious (İnsel, 1989; Mannheim, 1959: 102). Conservatism was born as a reaction to the revolutions of the Enlightenment period, but then it became an integrated doctrine – as mentioned above – and turned into a modern ideology, which is a future project as well (Bora, 2008: 53, 54). It was even subjected to some revisions in later periods that would conform to the assumptions of the modern ideologies that it claimed to be opposed.

In conservative ideology, the community is seen as the most important parallel for human existence with its contents mentioned above. The absoluteness of the society and its priority over the individual, the functioning of the system

instead of individual ideas and the emergence of historical flow are the common denominator of conservatism (Güler, 2008: 124). Based on this idea, it is not possible to talk about people unless there is a community. Therefore, this community must be protected without limit. The most characteristic feature of this community is that it corresponds to a naturality based on an integration and historicality that does not allow any conflict. In conservative ideology, the basic building block of this integrated community is the family (Güler, 2008: 127). At the same time, the family is a metaphor to describe the functioning of the community at different levels. Everyone has some innate and unchangeable features and roles. They also naturalize the hierarchical organization of the community. In a community that functions like a family, traces of a leader similar to the head of the family together with solidarity, loyalty and organic unity are visible. In this hierarchical, unchangeable and natural community construction, demands for difference or change are seen as objections to nature and the creator that makes it possible and regarded in the category of heresy. Even though the whole history has not been fully realized, retrospective rules are invented through current perspectives with a glimpse of the history and past. The obligation to be included in certain sexes or the position of women in the society is also defined by reference to such unchangeable naturalities, even if they were different in the past. In this context, there is no existence of a woman other than being part of the whole (family and nation) (Kancı, 2015: 88).

In line with the perspectives of this community, it is seen that conservative ideology reconciles with state idea around the category of naturalness.[1] The state has a sacred value as a guarantee of property and social hierarchy (Vural, 2007). However, conservative ideology also has a problem with the modern institutional state. As long as this state is a modern state, protecting the community encourages civil-societism against the state. Because the traditional structures of the modern state tend to have superior-subordinate features. However, this opposition is largely not an opposition to the nature of the state. The state is among the natural categories of conservative ideology as an extension of paternal status. Therefore, while defending the intermediary institutions of civil society, respect for the state should be guaranteed (Öğün, 2003: 557).

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1 'In this model, the state is a supreme institution / value in which the traditions, institutions and relations formed in the history of society are recovered from its disorganized structure and systematically embodied, protected and developed, in short, the expression of the essence of the society' (Köker, 2003: 277).

When we look at conservative ideology from the perspective of Turkey, some differences will appear among their counterparts in the West and conservatism in Turkey. The emergence of conservatism in the West was influenced by the demand for aristocratic and feudal noble values and lifestyles. The early inclusion of the peasant communities in the proletariat and the gathering together in the cities led them swiftly to new contents, although the first protests included some demands for tradition. In England, for example, the peasantry had already disappeared at the very beginning of the industrial revolution (Hobsbawm, 1998: 27). Although conservatism demonstrated the ability to reach this base, it is built around noble life, privilege and values in a way that its basic attribute would spread to later periods. While in Turkey, there was only one aristocratic family in the pre-modern era: *The Ottomans*. Moreover, this authority was largely gathered around a palace life; they largely isolated themselves from the ordinary people with their culture and lifestyles (Mardin, 2004: 56).

Population movements caused by wars and forced migration also led to the concentration of Muslim population in Anatolia. Anatolia was dominated by a traditional way of life based on Islam. The notables, aghas and landlords – who got richer through the war economy and historical influences – were influential on the peasant class in Anatolia[2]. Thus, the content of the reactionary response to the measures and actions of the state towards modernization efforts was determined by these sociological backgrounds. Rather than seeking reputation shaped by longing for aristocratic life, this gave Turkish conservatism a harmony between trade and religion – though not altogether; village-style sense of 'us'; a special concept of the 'other' limited with hospitality visits; and a political stance conflicted with the modern state, which circulates around its boundaries but is afraid of its power[3]. However, we should emphasize that the last one is changed in case of a state. In addition, the consumer culture, conservative aesthetization of everyday life (Akçaoğlu, 2018; Can, 1997), and populist discourse in politics shaped by domination and resentment (Yılmaz, 2018) should be included in the domination process of conservatism specifically in Turkey[4].

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2 Timur (2013) discusses the classes and the power relations between them in the process of Turkish revolution in detail.

3 According to Özdalga (2007: 62), in the process of modernization, the language in which the peasants expressed hatred against everything that was contrary to the new worldly religion and therefore sinful was different than the language in which they expressed their real-life practices.

4 This populism also has something to do with the society construction of conservative ideology and therefore the idea of democracy: 'The fact that conservative populists

Although these transformations have led to different conservatism patterns (for example, as in the conservative response to new styles of hijab), they point to the fact that conservative ideology has become common in everyday life. Conservative transformation also gives signals on how to set the framework for gender codes. Contradictions between women and the public sphere, attitudes towards different gender assumptions and acceptance of a male-centered community are included in this perspective as 'natural'. All kinds of perspectives and attitudes apart from this appear to be 'those who are not one of us', 'Western-based' and thus the source of tricks planned elsewhere. The conservative perspective of women also establishes itself through contradictions. The woman is placed in the category of immorality when she fails to enter into the conservative ideology's system of plausibility. The woman who is considered acceptable is responsible for caring for children within the family and she is characterized as soft and emotional (Akçaoğlu, 2019: 94). There is also a close relationship between women and family and privacy. Women are identified by codes within the privacy area. The family is the cover of the women-centric privacy area (Zeybek, 2011: 237).

The conception of gender in conservative ideology is shaped by concern. This is related to the dominant gender codes which they are concerned to lose. Gender codes that fall outside the limits of conservative social imagination are regarded as aberrant. Such social deviations can also be seen as a result of games played elsewhere. 'While liberals and reformers advocate women's freedom, which they legitimize through the modernist interpretation of Islam, conservatives perceive such reforms as an attack on the integrity of the Islamic state and a surrender to Western cultural imperialism' (Kandiyoti, 2011: 95). It is possible to say that this ideological plane spreads to daily life. In particular, social functions of the media play an important role in this process. For this reason, it is considered useful to take a closer look at the aforementioned functions of the media.

Media and Conservatism in Turkey

Today, the media's potential to shape or manage social life is often underlined. However, it should be taken into consideration that the influence of the media is increased to the extent that it ignores the other social components, or the desperation of the subjects against the media may be referred. Two opposing arguments

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base their political legitimacy on the claim that they are the only representatives of the national will is related to the fact that their understanding of democracy is not based on the fact that society is composed of fractions with different interests' (Taşkın, 2007: 90).

that the media are capable of reflecting 'as is' or shaping and influencing the social define the media as a non-judgmental object or a subject with an excessively decisive feature aspect, and it is necessary to say that this is an incomplete definition (Stevenson, 2002). Media mostly appears as a channel where sociality is mediated. Today, media is everywhere in social relations and interactions. We should not forget that, with this attribute, it is capable of constructing the reality (Hepp, 2013). This largely corresponds to understanding and producing reality in the media style. Other dynamics of the social sphere must be filtered through the logic of this sphere and incorporated into social reality. This perspective does not eliminate their importance but includes them within the framework of media logic.

The media can be regarded as a medium that enables the possibilities of socialization, that is, the practices of being a society in a way to reproduce the dominant assumptions about gender, and which is subjected to the effect of socio-economic and cultural binders while realizing this. The media channels in Turkey should be evaluated in the context of social position and function. It can be noted that an important part of the widespread media channels in Turkey has to be placed in a sphere generated by political and economic transformations and the conservative party in power and in recent years they formed their editorial policies in the context of this framework. In Turkey, AKP's coming to power in the early 2000s caused a liberal atmosphere in the media; however in recent years, media organs that do not accommodate different voices and ideas, and even media organizations restricting the working conditions of journalists who do not comply with the broadcasting policy have become dominant. In the establishment and adoption of this system, the public reaction of the coup attempt of July 15 2016, legitimization of the ordinary nature of the state of emergency, the spread of the perception of threat, the legal restrictions, conflicts with the opposition and the historical codes of Turkish political culture seem to be effective.

After all, today's media organizations in Turkey seem to have similar editorial content with slight differences. In these publications, it is possible to come across contents that support the argument that gender-based approaches correspond to a conservation and re-establishment of dominant social codes. However, understanding the ways in which they establish themselves and their special attributes will also help to explain the dynamics of the social sphere in forming gender codes. A research conducted through the contents of media organizations playing a leading role in the determination of editorial policies in Turkey will enable to specify the framework of general social acceptances. In this way, it is also possible to clearly see the limits of the framed media's – outside the new

media – dynamics of speaking about basic social judgments. Therefore, it will be necessary to examine the publications that are thought to be the pioneers in the establishment of these limits in order to achieve the objectives set out here.

Method

In this study, two newspapers capable of representing the conservative media are examined. The aim of the study is to identify the dynamics of the conservative press to reconstruct gender codes. News collected from the websites of Yeni Şafak and Yeni Akit newspapers are the samples used in this research. The reason for the selection of these newspapers is that they openly support conservative ideology. Today, the other mainstream newspapers are also the followers of this perspective. The contents of the two newspapers between March 01, 2019 and August 31, 2019 have been scanned and gender related news are identified. The reason for the selection of this timeframe is because Women's Day is celebrated in March and there are different gender issues that occupy the agenda of the press during this period. In this period, contents such as opening up the phenomenon of *women's universities* to the discussion based on the Japan example, pride march, and Istanbul Convention[5] led the agenda to focus on gender issues.

The screening was carried out via certain keywords through the news that the newspapers uploaded to their social media accounts. The keywords used in the screening are as follows: 'Woman', 'LBGTI', 'Women's Day', 'Non-limited Time Child Support Payment', 'Istanbul Convention', 'Homosexual' and 'Women's University'.

The study is based on a qualitative description. In making this description, concepts and methods of critical discourse analysis are utilized. It is necessary to say that we accept news discourse as an ideological reproduction in the study. This method explains how ideologies affect our daily subjects and speeches, how we understand ideological discourse, and how discourse takes place in the reproduction of ideology in society (van Dijk, 2003: 13). Some concepts that come to the fore in this method give us the opportunity to analyze the ideological dimension of news discourse. Especially in critical discourse analysis, the implications, contradictions, side meanings, naturalization and legitimation practices in the language of news and the social context of the news come to the fore (van Dijk,

5 Because the European Council Convention on prevention of violence against women and domestic violence, and fighting against these – which is approved by 20 European Council member states including Turkey – was signed in Istanbul, it's publicly known as Istanbul Convention.

2003; 2007). In this respect, the statements, implications, contradictions and connotations referred by the news obtained from newspapers using the related key words and the social context in which the news text is placed will be examined and classified under different themes. The themes identified are based on the social construction of conservative ideology.

Family, Privacy and Women

Women are positioned in the conservative media around the defined roles in the family. Even when fulfilling a public mission, they do so with the qualities attributed to women in the dominant family construction. This indicates the social context at which the news discourse is fixed although the news doesn't clearly say it. For example, according to one report, the role of women in the project of building a mosque is as follows: '70 women gathering in Antalya provide financial support for building a mosque in their neighborhood by selling pancakes they prepared' (Yeni Akit, July 25, 2019a). The construction of the mosque here constitutes the main action reflected by the news. However, while performing this sacred work, we see that women can still contribute by preparing food. Thus, the relationship established between women and caregiving and the sanctity of the mosque points to the social context in which the news resides. A natural bond is established between women and cooking.

The definition of women by family care services is continued with the privacy aspect of women. Women have privacy within the family. For example, in a news article "Women patients want their 'Privacy Rights'" is used with the following statements: '"Women patients' who want to be treated by a female physician in many diseases, especially gynecology, are in high demand for 'female physician' appointments. Female patients are forced to refer to male physicians as the female physician appointments are quickly occupied" (Yeni Akit, July 08, 2019). We see that the news primarily expresses a demand in line with conservative ideology. However, the subject of this demand has been rendered vague in the news. In the news, the demand for privacy is seen as the demand of all women. The fact that the demand for privacy of all women is a natural demand and the necessity to regulate the relationship between women and doctors accordingly points to the connection of the news language between the non-aligned. Inspection and privacy are naturally linked to each other in terms of the language used. Defending the contrary is only for those who the news discourse leaves outside the definition of femininity. The news discourse then begins to underline this distinction: 'The shortage of male assistants, especially in education and research

hospitals, disturbs the expectant mothers'. This natural demand seems to belong to mothers with sensitivity. Contradictions in language often occur when one side is identified with positive qualities. Here, there is no need to define a discredit for the other. There is a contradiction between the women with sensitivities (mothers) and those without it. Especially as the first part of the news language implies, it is seen that the natural female is defined as having sensitivity.

The explanations in the news impose a legitimizing function on the discursive construction of the newspaper through the news. One way of identifying women with the privacy area is not to compare them with the opposite sex. In Turkey, an example of this is the public debate on the establishment of women's universities in the case of Japan. One of the newspapers examined addresses this discussion with the statements of a trade union secretary general. The following expressions are used:

> "In our country, such practice was conducted in the past. But because of ideological concerns, they tried to adopt mixed-sex education as a necessity. Now within the society, there is a demand to return to the past. We, as a trade union, are in favor of taking into consideration the preferences of people. The success rate was higher in single-sex schools. Because the students were comfortable and concentrated on their education. Japan is now a model country with this education system. Single type education system should not be bait for discrimination, freedom of belief and sexism" (Yeni Akit, July 25, 2019b).

In the same newspaper, this issue was covered with other news, and in one of them, coeducation was defined as a fossilized education model (July 08, 2019).

In the discourse of news, it is observed that defending the coeducation of opposition and accepting a policy in this direction are defined as 'ideological concerns. The fact that the defense of coeducation is ideological serves as a function to legitimize single education as the successful and proper education system. One is ideological, while the other is real. In the statement used as evidence, it is stated that there is a tendency to return to single education in the society. However, the identity and quality of those who demand it is unclear. A single judgment and perspective is generalized here. In addition, the claim that students were successful in the period of single education is presented without any evidence. However, historically, there is a contradiction between the basic argument of a political discourse that produces itself from the contradiction established with the tradition of the republic and this argument. The criterion of success is defined as feeling comfortable and concentration in the explanation. The implication here is that getting coeducation with the opposite sex prevents convenience and concentration. The statement ends with the argument that

coeducation system is a bait for discrimination, freedom of belief and sexism. Contents of the concepts seem to be changed here. The historical accumulation of concepts is as if twisted for the discursive acceptance of the news.

In conservative ideology, women become meaningful with their existence in the family. In this context, we often come across with a sensitivity towards the family in the conservative media. The fact that the reaction of the NGOs to the Istanbul Convention is included in the newspaper determines the discursive field to which the newspaper is bound. In the report, a statement issued by non-governmental organizations emphasizes that the ministry of family should not function like the ministry of women (Yeni Akit, July 19, 2019a). This expression, which is also used as a sub-title in the news, subordinates women to the family. The statement argues that gender equality policies do serious harm to the family structure (*in the news used as 'our family structure'*). The statement conveyed in the news continues as follows:

> 'The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services should avoid the image of 'influenced by feminism' which is not welcome by the general public. The Ministry of Family should work with the awareness that it is the ministry that protects the family – not as the ministry of women. The state should increase measures to encourage marriage, married lifestyle and marriage at younger ages rather than late marriage. Divorce cases also rapidly increase. Pre-marriage training seminars should be organized to prevent this and to strengthen the family institution. Pre-marital training courses should be made compulsory and the participants should be made aware of the communication between spouses' (Yeni Akit, July 19, 2019).

The expression of 'general society' has the function of significantly strengthening the effectiveness of discourse. Feminism is used as a kind of smearing expression here. The necessity of marriage and especially marriage at a younger age is underlined. Marital education has also been advocated as a requirement for the protection of the family. Discourse and examples are presented as evidence that reinforces the validity of discourse. Some quantitative data also support them. The text of statement, which argues that gender equality is contrary to the nature of creation, refers to a research in which the Gender Equality Project is implemented. Accordingly, 'In a research conducted in countries where the project is implemented including Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden and Turkey, it's found that the Gender Equality Project increases domestic violence. Femicide rate in Europe is 7 points more than the world average and Turkey. There is no information about the scientific nature of the project. One of the practices of news discourse to establish itself is reduction. Accordingly, expressions such as project and research are used as common words. The news discourse thus moves itself to a legitimate level. On the other hand, the conservative media's

March 8, World Working Women's Day is being read as an obstacle to the position of women in the family. In Yeni Akit, an important representative of the conservative media, World Working Women's Day is characterized by hostility towards Islam: 'March 8, International Women's Day, celebrated every year, has become an effective weapon of Islam enemies. Women who are encouraged to consume are glorified and turned into cheap labor for capitalism and separated from their families' (March 08, 2019). Here, the social context in which discourse establishes itself is that hostility towards Islam is spread everywhere. News discourse takes place by including Women's Day. The view of Yeni Şafak Newspaper on International Working Women's Day is different than the other newspaper. The discourse of a news founded around the discourse of rights is as follows:

> '49.8 % of the population in Turkey are women. However, the rate of women's participation in the labor force unfortunately is 34.8 % and the employment rate is 29.7 %. Although the living conditions of women in society improve, they are still not sufficient. Women in our country only want what they deserve as a right in every aspect of life – not positive discrimination.

However, the news also shows the effects of abandoning perspectives on gender equality around conservative power in recent years. In this new political language, expressions such as positive discrimination or equality have been abandoned. To a large extent, the news establishes its discourse not as a claim for privilege but as a claim for right. Accordingly, women want only what they are entitled to; nothing more. However, the celebration of the women's day in a legal cultural center faces the newspaper's accusations: '*DHKP-C* and *PKK*, who aim to raise militants at a young age, made small children sing 'terrorist' marches during the concert of *Grup Yorum* at the "March 8 Women's Day" event of *TAYAD* families hosted at İdil Cultural Centre' (Yeni Şafak, March 12, 2019a).

Impudent Perverts

In the news published in the newspapers we have examined, it is seen that semantic constructions are realized with clear accusations as well as naturalization, irrelevant connections and implications. Especially the oppositions established between legitimate and illegitimate women reveal the difference between those who are one of us and those who are not. They are those who are outside of acceptable women. 'After the disgusting book of so called-author Abdullah Şevki, which caused indignation, immoral books of the so-called female writers Elif Şafak, Ayşe Kulin and Duygu Asena have been found. Failure to initiate judicial proceedings against the three women writers in question caused reactions' (Yeni Akit, June 04, 2019b). The connection between a writer who faces the accusation

of pedophilia and female writers who have never been accused before is an irrelevant connection. However, irrelevant connections are brought together to bring together a woman and a male pedophilia criminal who are known to be non-conservative. Thus, the identity of those who are not one of us is clearly pointed out with a false charge. In the news language, the legitimacy ground was made possible with vague reactions. It is witnessed that the opposition is established with other strict definitions. Women gathered in Taksim Square in Istanbul to celebrate March 8, International Working Women's Day, for example, are called 'terrorist and marginal' in a report on the grounds that they protest the call to prayer by blowing whistles although it is not. Moreover, in the news, through the statement 'March 8, International Women's Day which has become the effective weapon of the enemies of Islam, brought the marginal groups together in Taksim' (Yeni Akit, March 09, 2019), Women's Day is related to hostility against Islam. The report also emphasizes that women show their hostility against the family on the occasion of the International Women's Day.

Therefore, it is seen that a semantic system established between 'terrorist', 'marginal' and 'anti-Islamic' and 'family antagonism' links these concepts. The news continues with such connections: 'Western-backed, family-hostile feminists met in Taksim yesterday and started to whistle with the call to prayer' (Yeni Akit, March 09, 2019). Being Western-backed and feminism are included in the description chain as we tried to express above. Yeni Şafak newspaper also includes Gezi and Soros in this sense: 'Some of the groups that were discussed with the 'protest of call to prayer' during the Feminist Night March in Taksim on March 8 are also included in the Gezi protest accusations. It is noteworthy that they receive funding from Soros, the sponsor of the 'Velvet Revolution'. The association called Hayata Destek Derneği received 300 thousand liras at 4 times and Cinsel Şiddetle Mücadele Derneği received 61 thousand liras. The money transferred to the front lines of gay associations exceeds 1 million liras' (Yeni Şafak, March 12, 2019b).

In the news covered, the names of women are singled out and the negative image of women is tried to be established. For example, in a news report, the movie star Müjde Ar – who is claimed to support Istanbul Convention – is defined as 'the actress of immoral movies' and 'porn star of Turkish cinema' (Yeni Akit, July 18, 2019).

The non-acceptable category also includes homosexuals. The declaration, which previously included the reactions of non-governmental organizations on the Istanbul Convention, also addresses this issue:

> 'It is unacceptable for the state to support and encourage trends that are contrary to Creation. Aberration – which led to the destruction of the Lot in Islam, is a condition that should be treated. . . Article 4 of the Istanbul Convention provides legal assurance by considering sexual orientation as a person's choice and human right. This will cause serious harm to the family institution.' (Yeni Akit, July 10, 2019).

Here, the importance of family institution is a category that will define gender deviance. Everything that cannot enter the traditionally depicted family has been regarded as perverted; these conditions are inconsistent with creation and need to be treated. Another article of Yeni Akit newspaper dated July 17, 2019 includes the following definitions regarding the Istanbul Convention:

> 'Legitimizing homosexual perversion and undermining the family institution by disrupting the moral structure of the society. . .'
>
> **'Legitimizing homosexual perversion** and placing a bomb under the social morality under the name of gender equality. . .'
>
> 'Convention paves the way for homosexual immorality under the mask of women's rights and gender equality.'
>
> 'Incompatible with national and spiritual values and legitimizing homosexuality by disrupting the moral structure. . .'

Another news includes the following statements: *'Paving the way to genderless species distant from the nature of human by introducing the concept of 'Gender Equality' in our lives*. . . '(Yeni Akit, July 19, 2019b). There are more examples:

> 'Family enemy Istanbul Convention' (Yeni Akit, July 08, 2019).
>
> 'The Istanbul Convention is started to be vigorously defended by the PKK's leftist marginal media' (Yeni Akit, July 15, 2019a).
>
> 'Today's issue of PKK's rag paper Birgün newspaper published with 'Istanbul Convention cannot be opened to debate' headline' (Yeni Akit, July 15 2019a).
>
> 'Known as 'mischief convention' among public. . .' (Yeni Akit, July 15, 2019b).
>
> 'Encouraging homosexuality, Femi-Fascist Istanbul Convention' (Yeni Akit, April 16, 2019).

The fact that a French football magazine featured a picture of two famous footballers kissing is also accused by the newspaper of making perverted homosexual propaganda (Yeni Akit, April 16, 2019). It is observed that the news is constructed with content suitable for hate speech especially in the news about LGBTI individuals. The fact that Ekrem İmamoğlu, the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, supports the Gender Equality Project is announced

in the Yeni Akit newspaper with the following title: 'İmamoğlu said to 'embrace everyone'! The first ones were the homosexuals' (April 25, 2019). In the newspaper in question, homosexuality is constantly defined as perversion and disease. Projects such as Gender Equality are also addressed in connection with this. It is even possible to find news in which political and economic opponents are also included in this discourse: 'Again The Koç Group is behind the '**Gender Equality**' crap that will push young people into a crisis of homosexuality and identity' (June 08, 2019). Reflecting the news in an objective language and passive verb structures are seen as qualities that give legitimacy and objectivity to news discourse. The following statements are as follows: 'In the books published by Yapı Kredi Yayınları of the Koç Group, it was seen that children were propagated to fall in love with people of the same sex. It was not overlooked that the books that instilled immorality in children were of origin from the US and Italian outposts of the Crusader West'. Another news about hate speech is titled as 'Take your Ancestor and go Oray' Habertürk's homo paved the way' (Yeni Akit, July 02, 2019). Other examples include the following:

> 'Horny people who cannot find a place in society met on board' (Yeni Akit, July 03, 2019).
>
> 'Mor Çatı, which attends meetings on the effective implementation of the Istanbul Convention that legitimizes homosexuality and tries to normalize pervert LGBTI activities' (Yeni Akit, July 15, 2019b).
>
> 'Pumping disrupted their nature! 'A petition started to protest EşcinShell (HomoShell)' (Yeni Akit, April 14, 2019).

Yeni Şafak newspaper also appears to have a serious 'sensitivity' towards LBGTI individuals: 'AK Party district and town mayors harshly responded to the LGBTI supporting post sent by Canakkale Municipality over their social media account. Mayors' statement says that 'We cannot accept that our city is mentioned with such a moral problem other than its spirituality and investments made' (Yeni Şafak, July 01, 2019). It is seen in the news that statements against LGBTI individuals who are regarded as a moral issue are supported. The newspaper reinforces its position on the subject by communicating a statement in another article: '40 NGOs have gathered against the LGBT march which is planned to be held in Istanbul on the weekend and issued a protest declaration. The declaration underlining that the event was held to normalize homosexuality and devaluate the family institution called authorities for the prevention of the march' (Yeni Şafak, June 17, 2016). The statement of a non-governmental organization with a conservative world view on LGBTI individuals is announced in the newspaper as follows: 'Important statements from KADEM: Our stance is clear: homosexuality

is a perverse tendency' (Yeni Şafak, July 11, 2019). The background of this statement is that conservative responses to gender equality have recently gained a certain public opinion. This reaction resulted in the adoption of the concept of Gender Equality in the Attitude Document of the Higher Education Institution. The Yeni Şafak newspaper reflects the statements of the President of the Council of Higher Education as it is, and makes a report that looks objective but legitimizing the statement in this form. The statement includes the following:

> 'It is necessary to consider the fact that the project is not in line with our social values and that it is not adopted by the society. In this direction, YOK has been conducting a study to make the necessary changes in the attitude document. As of today, the studies on updating by removing the concept of Gender Equality from the Attitude Document are at the final stage and will be announced to our universities soon' (Yeni Şafak, February 29, 2019).

The implication that the notion of gender equality is not accepted by the society reflects the presumption of the conservative perspective that the whole society thinks alike. In this argument, these values belong to the whole society as well as being their own. The question of social values and acceptances also shows that the explanation in the news is contradictory to the historical context. Because it was the conservative power that used such emphasis. However, the best description of social values and assumptions belongs to them as it is understood from the discourse, and they can change as the contradictory situation shows.

Male Victims

While conservative ideology establishes a family-centered society, it places men on the foundation of this family. Consequently, contents in respect to the rights of men are observed in the conservative media. It is often said that the laws are against the man, especially in divorce and child support payment processes. For example, in the news of Yeni Akit newspaper dated July 19, 2019b, the processes against the men are defined in the text as follows:

> 'Law No. 6284 gives men persecution.'
>
> Temporary debarment decisions are as important as prison sentence.'
>
> 'Unilateral declaration of women leads to temporary debarment up to 6 months.'
>
> 'There is no place to go for the married men in Turkey against the debarment decisions.'
>
> 'Debarment decisions cause more violence.'

> 'There are tens of thousands of inhumane grievances such as child foreclosure, imprisonment due to child support payment, parental alienation in the separation of couples.'

In another news, it's complained that the child support payment is a way of getting unearned income for the lawyers: While the ruling party gets ready to eliminate the suffering due to 'unlimited child support payment' – that turns into a lifetime persecution – lawyers who were found to get an unearned income of more than 1 billion liras per year from divorce, custody and child support cases. The answer to the bar associations defending unlimited child support came from NGOs: 'They are not after the women's right; they struggle for their unearned income!' (Yeni Akit, May 21, 2019). The examples used in the context of male victimization also help strengthen the meaning:

'Mehmet Ceyhun, who proved that he had been subjected to violence in his marriage that lasted for 3 months, was given 10 thousand TL non-pecuniary compensation, 500 TL monthly child support payment and 4 months imprisonment. Ceyhun emphasized that he had been subjected to violence in his marriage saying, 'I will sue everyone who are after the food of my three children' (Yeni Akit, March 06, 2019). However, it is understood from the news that the decision was made in accordance with the self-defense. On the other hand, the discourse of legitimate judges may be introduced to reinforce the rightfulness in the news:

> 'Theologists warn people about unlimited child support payment: '**it's not permissible in the religion laws**'. Theologists emphasize that it is not permissible for women to take welfare alimony after 3 months; and in the case of children, the father is obliged to compensate the expenses of his daughter until she is married and his sons until puberty' (Yeni Akit, March 15, 2019).

Women's comments on child support, which is an important case issue for the newspapers we examined, are also used to legitimize the news discourse: A woman we talked stated that she didn't get alimony from her ex-husband with whom she divorced 25 years ago saying that 'If I wanted his money, I would be next to him and live on him'. A citizen suffering from alimony said that he is still in the process of divorce and he is victimized by paying a temporary alimony of TL 500 per month. (Yeni Akit, Friday, April 12, 2019). In addition, celebrities' statements may also serve as evidence. In a news story that includes hate speech, the following title was used: 'Reaction from Tuba Ünsal against 'unlimited alimony' that madden femi-fascists!' (Yeni Akit, Sunday, May 12, 2019). The second spouses are also among witnesses: 'Subsequent spouses' suffering due to unlimited alimony gets attention. Meltem Demir – married to a divorced man – states that 'His former wife is graduated from university; she is an accountant but

doesn't work. Seems that it's popular to live on men. Please hear our voice as subsequent spouses and children; we are also women!' (Yeni Akit, June 10, 2019).

Conclusion

Looking at the reports of two important representatives of the conservative media in Turkey between certain dates, it is seen that gender codes are built with a masculine-dominant terminology. Especially the news discourse of the Yeni Akit newspaper, which includes hate speech, shows in bold lines how the framework for gender codes is being shaped. According to this, different sexual codes are defined by perversion, whereas women are predominantly valued within family relationships. The image of an acceptable woman is often established through oppositions within the news discourse. The victimization of masculinity is an issue that the newspaper underlines in particular about child support. Although Yeni Şafak newspaper has a relatively more modest language, it has negative judgments about gender equality and different sexual identities.

On the other hand, it should be noted that these contents reproduce the perspective against gender of Turkey's conservative design. However, it is noteworthy that this construction is conducted in the direction of political opposition in the newspaper news. Political contradictions assume a function that justifies the unchangeable assumptions in these attitudes and perspectives. Gender encodings over political contradictions focus on identifying positions rather than paving the way for public debate over their accuracy or inaccuracy. This is also a way of validating the natural arguments developed largely by the conservative design of gender codes.

Two different arguments that the media are an active determinant or reflect only value judgments in society make it difficult for us to accurately describe the role of conservative media in the social sphere, including gender codes. What is at stake is that the conservative media, as the representative of the political power, set the axis of the discussions. This also means defining the framework for what will be discussed and what will be the main axis of social acceptance. Although the widespread media seems to have lost importance in the new media era, it has an important role to play in determining this framework. At least in today's Turkey, it is possible to observe that public debates, including gender issues, are taking place on this axis.

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Bilge Narin & Sevda Ünal

The Working Practices of the Glocal Foreign Turkish Media Institutions in the Context of Their Advantages and Disadvantages

Introduction

The studies focusing on journalism and globalization have a consensus that the globalization of the media has led to a significant increase in the growth of entertainment news, commodification of news, and the rise of US-style sensational journalism (Shah, 1998; Thussu, 2002). Moreover, advances in communication technologies have led political authorities to engage in journalistic activities to influence and shape public opinion in other countries.

In this context, in accordance with the concept of glocalization that was defined by Robertson as 'expansion of the concept of globalization' (1997: 25), the media ecosystem in Turkey after the 2000s has become a center for the investments of the foreign media organizations that broadcasts in Turkish. The deregulation process in the Turkish media industry has speeded up this process from the 90s till now. For instance, any foreign investor could not have invested in any radio and television organizations in Turkey more than 25 % by law before 2015. Then, the 25 % capital restriction on national radio and TVs for foreign capital was removed with an amendment made in the RTÜK (The Supreme Board of Radio and Television) Law.

The glocal foreign Turkish media organizations are remarkable in terms of showing the interconnectedness and connection between global and local. While some of them are state-funded, the others have a commercial economic organization. The geopolitical importance of the country and its proximity to the areas of conflict are effective in attracting the attention of foreign media organizations.

Besides, the issue of 'inequality', which is one of the main areas of current academic studies, should not be seen only as accessibility to technology and infrastructure problems. It is noteworthy as a research subject that the media institutions in the same working environment do journalism under similar conditions. In this context, the aim of the present research is to analyze the working practices of Turkish foreign media organizations. This study has revealed both the advantages and of these institutions and the challenges they face

in the Turkish media ecosystem. Thus, it is aimed to determine the conditions that make Turkey an original news center.

It has been found that there are few studies in the related literature, and these studies do not have the theme of inequality. For instance, the accuracy of the information provided by the Turkish broadcasting foreign media organizations, the qualifications, and impartiality is a moot point in a recent study. In this study, the news of Voice of America, BBC Turkish, Deutsche Welle, and Sputnik during the March 2011 Syrian crisis were subjected to Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis within the framework of the political economy approach. It was concluded that the western countries and Russia supported different forces with different news discourses. By using the propaganda power of the media, the news organizations reinforced the discourse of their own governments in the news about the crisis in Syria (Budak, 2018: 355).

By using glocalization as a theoretical framework, the recent study opens the discussion of the inequalities in Turkish broadcasting foreign media organizations in Turkey in the context of the opinions of the media professionals who have been working in these institutions. In this context, we borrow some inequality concepts from Bebawi (2016) under the titles of "state control", "access to information", "social pressures"," cultural factors", and "instability in the country". Some of the questions that were asked for analyzing the publication activities of these media organizations can be listed as follows: What are the advantages and disadvantages of foreign media organizations in the current media ecosystem of Turkey? What impact do the national and international political conjuncture and bilateral relations have on the working practices of journalists working on these platforms? What are the similarities and differences between working practices of the foreign broadcasters and domestic-based internet broadcasting platforms? What kind of inequalities do different working practices create in the news media ecosystem?

The main limitation of the present research is the focus on the working practices of journalists instead of users and news texts. The profiles of the followers of the mentioned media organizations and their purposes of usage, the common narratives, types of discourse found in the news texts were not included in the study due to both not losing the focus of the research and also time limitation.

In the first part of the study, the investments of the foreign Turkish media organizations in Turkey were examined with a historical perspective. Then globalization, glocalization, and journalism were discussed. In the application part of the research, the data obtained from the in-depth interviews conducted with

media managers and media professionals working in these organizations were analyzed in the axis of the categories described above.

Globalization, Glocalization and Media

Globalization is increasingly influencing developing and underdeveloped countries, including the fields of media and journalism. It is recognized that the global media industry has a homogenizing effect on local identities, cultures, and ideologies (Chadha & Kavoori, 2005: 85). The popularization of the same type of program formats around the world in the same period and The CNN influence in the news are the main phenomena of globalization in the media sector.

Again, as a result of globalization, concentration in media ownership structure, deregulation and privatization in national cultural industries, and new transnational media collaborations are increasingly strengthening market-oriented journalism (Wasserman & Rao, 2008: 163). On the other hand, Robertson (1997), who focuses on the question of what distinguishes and differentiates the local from the global, emphasized that the nature of the local has changed, and its boundaries become uncertain. He has put forward the concept of glocalization. Glocalization can be defined as the inclusion, encirclement, and exploitation of the local by cultural imperialism. Glocalization offers a more acceptable face of globalization (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007). Based on the multinational corporation's "think global, act locally" strategies, Robertson has positioned himself differently from previous debates on globalization. George Ritzer has defined glocalization as "intertwining of global and local that leads to unique results in different geographical areas." He argues that glocalization is extremely sensitive to the differences within and between different countries/regions/places in the world (Lee, 2006: 256). Glocalization, defined as a unique mutation of a foreign culture and native culture (Reyaz, 2016: 244), affects the media sector like all other sectors.

Global media acts as storytellers that present a story as it is or influences it in their interests. Global media can thus reflect the benefit of the storyteller (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007). The proliferation of media content across international borders supported by globalization has created a unified world economy, a single ecological system, and a complex communication network that spans the entire world. This network connects remote localness to each other, which local events are shaped by events occurring kilometers away, or vice versa (Twining, 2000: 4). According to Machin and Leeuwen, global media companies have responded to criticism that globalization has led to unprecedented standardization and cultural homogeneity: Deliberately creating diversity, producing global media in de

local languages, and integrating local content in a variety of ways (2007: 1). Thus, global content has gotten in contact with local content to become "localized" or "glocalized."

Based on television news, Cohen asserts that news has limits to have global features. These limits are determined by the cognitive abilities of the local audience. To make the news understandable, it is necessary to localize the news according to the country/region/place, etc. The limitations of globalization appear in the process of internalizing the news. In this case, journalists should create the story by considering the history, culture, political structure, and social structure of the country/region where the audience is located (Cohen, 2002; Cohen et al., 1996). The foreign media organizations broadcasting Turkish in Turkey, localize the language of news, during the news building process, forms a news style that is compatible with the cultural, economic, social, and political values of the Turkish people. In this regard, the foreign media organizations that broadcast in Turkish can be accepted as the manifestation of the media leg of glocalization.

The Glocal Foreign Turkish Media Institutions in Turkey

In this part of the study, we will provide information related to foreign media organizations broadcasting Turkish in Turkey. By doing so, it will be issued a map of these institutions. The field of activity of these organizations varies from agency, radio, internet broadcasting to television. However, due to the convergence of mass media with Internet technologies, all of these organizations have websites.

The list of foreign media organizations broadcasting Turkish in Turkey as follows:

Radio Stations: RS FM (Radio Sputnik), VOA (Voice of America), CRI (China Radio International), Radio Bulgaria.

News Agencies: Sputnik (Russian News Agency), IRNA (Islamic Republic News Agency), Xinhua (Chinese Official News Agency), SANA (Syrian Official News Agency), QHA (Crimean News Agency), Kyrgyz National News Agency, Şalom News Agency (Israel), Armenia News Agency, Mehr News Agency (Iran), Trend News Agency (Azerbaijan) and Cyprus News Agency (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus).

Internet News Agencies: BBC Turkish (UK), Deutsche Welle (DW) Turkish (Germany), Al Monitor Turkish (America-based Middle East broadcast), Euronews Turkish (European Union), Independent Turkish (UK) and Şarkul El-Avsat (Saudi Arabia).

It should be mentioned that Al Jazeera, was one of the foreign media channels broadcasting Turkish in Turkey between 2014 and 2017. It had a TV channel, internet site, digital magazine, mobile application, and social media accounts. It was announced that the broadcasting activities of Al Jazeera ended in Turkey on the 3rd of May, from the Internet site of Al Jazeera. It was claimed the diplomatic crisis between Qatar and several Arab nations (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, Egypt, and Yemen) that began in June 2017, caused the shutdown of Al Jazeera in Turkey.

There has been a development in the field of media that is considered to be unique and first on April 29 of 2019. Four international broadcasters DW, BBC, France 24, and VOA launched the new YouTube channel + 90 that broadcasts in Turkish. The aim of the cooperation between these four broadcasters was explained as follows at the press conference: "Bringing together different media organizations on a common platform to provide independent and reliable information, promote freedom of expression, and promote press freedom." All international broadcasters contribute to the new YouTube channel with news, interviews, and unique content videos. It was stated that the platform was established with the question of "What can we do better together?" Also, this YouTube channel is mainly aimed to reach out to Turkish-speaking young audiences who are interested in global issues. Both the logo of the content provider and the platform will be located on the screen. The manager of the channel +90 is DW. DW is responsible for uploading content to the YouTube channel that comes from all the partners. As one can see, Turkey is an attraction center for international media organizations.

An Investigation on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Foreign Glocal Turkish Media Organizations

In the field study part of the present research, the semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out with media professionals that work for the foreign, glocal Turkish media organizations in Turkey to determine both the advantages and disadvantages of the working practices. Thus, the inequalities of the working practices between these media organizations and the other local or national media organizations were determined.

Sample

The sample of the present research contains the media managers and media professionals who work for the Independent Turkish, Sputnik/RSFM Turkish, and Deutsche Welle Turkish. These institutions have a long-standing corporate

Table 1: The Interviewed Media Managers and Media Professionals

The interviewee	The position of the interviewee	The Institution
Mahir Boztepe	Executive Editor	Sputnik Turkish/RSFM
Yavuz Oğhan	Radio Program Producer and Presenter	Sputnik Turkish/RSFM
Nevzat Çiçek	Executive Editor	Independent Turkish
Bülent Mumay	Journalist	Deutsche Welle Turkish

background and represent the most influential countries in the world. The reason why the sample as limited to three press institutions is that there was no positive response to the request from other institutions for interviews. The information collected from the websites about the selected media organizations is summarized below.

The Independent Turkish: The Independent, one of the UK-based media organizations with more than 100 million readers worldwide, launched its website www.independentturkish.com on April 15, 2019. The Independent Turkish is under the license agreement signed between Independent Digital News & Media Limited (IDML) owned by Russian businessman Alexander Lebedev and Media Arabia within the Saudi Arabia Research and Marketing Group (SRMG).

Deutsche Welle Turkish: Founded in 1953, DW, Germany's international broadcaster, today broadcasts in English, German, Spanish and Arabic. It provides television and Internet content in 30 languages. It is known that DW reaches more than 160 million people per week.

Sputnik Turkish / RSFM: Sputnik is headquartered in Moscow. Regional offices are located in key regions and countries of the world, including the United States (Washington), China (Beijing), France (Paris), Germany (Berlin), Egypt (Cairo), and the United Kingdom (London and Edinburgh. The Sputnik brand was launched on 10 November 2014 by the Russian media group Rossiya Segodnya. Sputnik's international editorial staff continues to work in more than 30 languages, including English, Spanish, French, German, Arabic, and Chinese.

Within the scope of the research, a total of two media managers and two media professionals were briefly interviewed. (For the information about the media professionals interviewed as a sample, see the appendix: Table 1).

Short interviews were conducted with BBC World Service Director Jamie Angus, Deutsche Welle General Manager Peter Limbourg, F24 English Service Manager Gallagher Fenwick, and Voice of America South and Central Asia Service Deputy Director Phillips within the scope of the study during the press conference held on April 29, 2019 for the opening of +90 YouTube channel. While analyzing the data obtained from the short interviews with these people were used in the related sections to support the study.

Findings

Findings from the interviews were interpreted by classifying under the themes of disadvantages and advantages. Thus, it was aimed to describe inequalities in working conditions. We benefited from Bebawi's themes that describe inequalities for the classification of working conditions at glocal foreign media channels. Accordingly, the data were examined under the following subheadings: State control, access to information, social pressure, cultural factors, and instability in the country.

Media theorists argue that journalists have to decide at the center of an area that consists of different limitations, demands or uses of power or influence. This area includes mainly legal restrictions and regulatory enforcement rules. It also covers a wide range of areas with less visible impact, such as ownership structure, organizational routines, market forces, cultural prejudices, patriotism, professional ethics and gender, race or class imbalance in the workforce (Harcap, 2004: 17). In a nutshell, journalists face pressure from a variety of sources aimed at preventing them from acting freely. This pressure may be due to the journalist's employer, government and security forces as well as the public. The best known and most visible element of this pressure causing inequality emerges as state control and access to information.

State Control

Under this heading, it was tried to determine how the media professionals approached the potential state control, which has an impact on the information flow. In this context, state control is discussed under two main headings: control of the state, which financially supports the broadcasting and the control of the state where broadcasting takes place. In this sense, Turkey is the state where the broadcasting takes place. The inequalities that are the results of Turkey's control were examined under subheadings accreditation, legal regulations, and other control mechanisms.

Accreditation

The control of the state in which the broadcasting takes place can take various forms. The most important of these controls is the accreditation of press organizations. "Some regulations, such as accreditation, which do not have a law clause, but it is sanctioned as much as they can, can turn into a control instrument" (Adaklı, 2010: 63). Accreditation provides an advantage in accessing information as well as giving legitimacy to the state in which the broadcasting is carried out. The accreditation process of the journalists is carried out by the Turkish Presidential Communication Presidency. The accredited journalists are given a press card as a proof of it. The press card is given to journalists who are both the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and also foreign journalists from international media companies working in Turkey. It is an official and individual occupation card. This card means that the state recognizes the person as a member of the press (https://www.karar.com/guncel-haberler/basin-kartinin-avantajlari-nelerdir-sari-basin-kartini-kimler-alabilir-5953-sayili-kanun-nedir-375236#).

There are two types of accreditation (permanent and temporary) that are applied for representatives of foreign media organizations by the Turkish Presidential Communication Presidency. Accordingly, "the international press members appointed on a permanent status to Turkey should be admitted to the Turkish Presidential Communication Presidency for the accreditation process. An annual press card can be issued to members of the press whose application is approved." For getting a temporary accreditation, "the international media members who come to Turkey temporary are invited to apply for an accreditation card that is valid for up to three months from the Turkish Presidential Communication Presidency" (*https://www.iletisim.gov.tr/turkce/uluslararasi-basin*). The press card for foreign journalists has renewed annually. This card is a document of journalists' official permission to work in Turkey. It is also a prerequisite for being able to reside in Turkey. Not having a valid press card can cause a failure for security checks. Besides, the deficiency of a press card, which is a prerequisite for a residence permit, also could raise the risk of deportation. On the other hand, The position of the journalists who work for a foreign Turkish media organization in Turkey is uncertain. The interviewed media professionals have stated that their status is unknown, and they could not get any local, national, or international press cards while working in Turkey.

> "Foreign Turkish media workers do not work as journalists who are subject to the Press Law No. 212 in Turkey while making their journalistic activities. How do they work? They have to act like a production company or a translation company that produces content. Unfortunately, this stems from several gaps in the laws of Turkey. Employees

> can either be insured from a local media and get a press card, or they always have to go a roundabout way. . . .Unfortunately, foreign Turkish media organizations do not in a position to prove their personal rights, trade union rights, or not in a position to prove their normal activities to be considered as journalists currently. . . . Many friends use a continuous press card from the institutions they have worked with before. A severe deficit. . . . For instance, my wife is a journalist like me. She works on a mainstream Turkish TV and has a press card. But I cannot be a staff member with a press card in my institution even though I have been working as an editor-in-chief" (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "Since this is the Internet media, there is no law for Internet media in Turkey. Because there is no law for Internet media in Turkey, internet media employees cannot be accredited. . . .Our UK over Turkey's representative (for Independent) does not have an accreditation problem. But we do not have accreditation as Independent Turkish." (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

> "Both Turkish employees working for foreign press and foreign workers working for the foreign press have had problems in the last one or two years. So Turkey did not extend the accreditation of at least six out of ten foreign journalists. If you are a foreigner, if you are not a Turkish citizen, doing journalism without any accreditation is a considerable risk. Thus, your security umbrella could go, and the police can knock on your door due to any of your news. Many institutions were forced to withdraw their correspondents in Turkey. Journalists cannot come to Turkey now. The state does not give any accreditation to foreign organizations that broadcast the news which the state does not like" (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

In line with the opinions of media professionals, it seems that there are obstacles for foreign Turkish media organizations' employees while following the press activities of the state. This situation is also due to the lack of legislation regarding internet newspaper employees. In addition to the problem of accreditation, some other legal arrangements are the additional control and supervision tools in the hands of the state.

Legal Regulations

There are some regulations regarding the radio and televisions that broadcast in Turkey, newspapers published in Turkey, and their activities in the digital platforms. These regulations set the framework of the broadcasting/publishing activities in Turkey. In a sense, they determine "the scope and limitations" of these activities. One of the regulatory bodies is the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK), which was founded in 1994 with the law of the Establishment and Broadcasting of Radio and Television (Law No. 3984). RTUK, as a legal authority under the administration of the Turkish Republic, is responsible for regulating and controlling the broadcast of radio, television, on-demand services,

and now streaming media such as Netflix. The legal practices other than the laws and regulations to which RTÜK is subject and apply are as follows: Law No. 5651, entitled Regulation of Publications on the Internet and Suppression of Crimes Committed by means of Such Publication was enacted by the Turkish government on May 2007. Regulation No.30849, entitled Regulation on the Presentation of the Radio, Television, and On-Demand Broadcasts on Internet was adopted on August 1, 2019, and Law No. 25504, entitled Press Law was enacted on June 26, 2004. Regulations in the field of media regulate the conditions of national and foreign institutions to operate in Turkey and the rights and responsibilities of these organizations. And they also act as a control and supervision tool. The regulation allowing the Internet broadcasts to be under the control of RTÜK is considered as a control and censorship by national and foreign media sector employees, lawyers, and academics. The interviewed media professionals have confirmed this control and censorship with their opinions.

> "We received warnings from RTUK about our programs on the radio. RTUK cannot control all radio channels. They are enforcing the law on the radio channels that they want to control. So how does the system work? "I will make a follow-up to this RSFM," they say. The officer or the intelligence organization may be doing so. For example, they banned the entry of chief editor of Sputnik to Turkey. After the plane crash event, the chief editor of Sputnik went to Russia. Then when he wanted to return, he could not enter Turkey. Also, access to the website of Sputnik was banned" (Yavuz Oğhan, Sputnik Turkish/RSFM).

> "For example, we were not on air on July 15 (2006) coup attempt. Sputnik was banned. It could be accessed only via a VPN at that time" (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "We know very well that our everything is under surveillance" (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

In short, accreditation and legal arrangements can turn into pressure and control tools on employees and create inequalities in working conditions. However, the control and pressure mechanisms carried out by the country in which the broadcasting takes place are not limited to these.

Other Control Mechanisms

One example of a control mechanism from other organizations is the report published by SETA (Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research). SETA is known to be close to the current Turkish government. SETA published a report which was titled "International Media Outlets' Extensions in Turkey" on July 6 of 2019. That report shared the professional backgrounds of the employees from BBC Turkish, DW Turkish, Voice of America Turkish, Sputnik Turkish,

Euronews in Turkish, Independent Turkish, and CRU Turkish (China Radio International). Both the list of the institutions that the journalists worked before and their social media interactions were also shared. The report was strongly criticized by the press and media organizations. The media professionals interviewed within the scope of the present research also think that the report was targeting them: "This is what we saw in the SETA report. It was purely stigmatizing. We have been targeted in Turkey." (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

Media professionals in their responses emphasized repression and control mechanisms that they encounter in Turkey in detail. But they almost ignored the countries and interest groups that finance them. Noting that the repression comes only from the country of broadcast, they also ignored the implicit and explicit pressure elements of the countries to which they are financially bound.

> "Let me say this very clearly, so far, neither the Russians nor the Saudi, nor England has never given instructions about the news. But if there is a problem with our news, we are alerted instantly. Because Independent has a representative here. They supervise us, and we receive weekly reports from them. This kind of working structure is something we desire because it is our job to have another eye control our work to reduce the margin of error. For example, an approach like this: 'You just uploaded the following news stories, but due to publication principles, these stories are incomplete. Why did you not complete the stories?' " (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

> "If you work as a journalist on this side, they do not let you work on the other side. Within a certain framework, you are asked to do soft news that will not disrupt or damage government propaganda. There is a very concrete and singular difference" (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

> "In terms of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, here is where I feel most comfortable so far. Before working here, there were places where I worked with pleasure as a journalist. But in the end, these institutions, whose bosses were businessmen, had some effects and limitations. They do not interfere with me here. They say, "Whatever you do, keep it within boundaries of journalism." For instance, Russia bombed Turkmen points in Syria, but I invited the Turkmens to my radio broadcast. I allowed them to express their views on this media platform." (Yavuz Oğhan, Sputnik Turkish/RSFM).

Interestingly, on 19 July of 2019, shortly after expressing his views above, Yavuz Oğhan announced that his programs Sputnik and RSFM were ended. Oğhan made a statement on his twitter account about the situation. He said that, just after hosting former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu at his radio program called "bidebunuizle" on his YouTube channel, his radio programs on Sputnik and RSFM were terminated. This development is remarkable in terms of the fact that the dynamics of the country in which the broadcasting takes place affects the recruitment and dismissal practices of these broadcasting organizations. This

case is significant in terms of showing unsafe and unstable working conditions of foreign media organizations broadcasting Turkish in Turkey.

Only one of the participants stated that the institution that he works could not have a completely independent broadcast policy against the financier country:

> "I cannot say such a thing. Of course, in some topics, it is not possible to speak of the full objectiveness of a German state-funded German public institution broadcasting company. That would be stupid." (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

While answering the question of how to broadcast policy is affected in case of disagreement between the two countries, Peter Limbourg from DW stated that they came from other countries, but they did not represent their country. The other participants also asserted that they were journalists, not spokespersons of their countries.

Although the interviewed media professionals claim that they are not a tool of propaganda, in the literature, at the studies that analyze the news texts, it is observed that these institutions are the institutions that transfer the ideologies of their countries to society. They also reinforce their ideologies by repeating them and strive to create a public opinion in this direction on the Turkish people.

Access to Information

The inequalities while accessing the information, are not independent from state control. This issue is another problem area that the foreign Turkish media organizations encounter. The participants expressed their opinions about inequalities in the axis of access to information as follows:

> "We try not to sever our connection with the competent authorities of the Republic of Turkey. . . . We try to hand the microphone to everyone. We say all the parties' Give us an opinion'. The news sources from the government do not openly tell us not to come. They do not say that "We do not want Sputnik." But they sometimes did not invite us to their press conferences. It could be a state reflex" (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "We have some difficulties in persuading news sources. . . They are afraid when we call pro-government politicians and journalists to our programs or ask for their opinions. They are fearful of giving a speech to our institution. For instance, we have invited a man who accused DW Turkish of being an agent by saying that behind the +90 project, there were external forces, NATO's manipulations, and perception operations. We invited him to explain his claims in a live broadcast for almost two months. He did not come, and he said that he was busy." (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

> "People see us as foreign press. They approach us with suspicion. Because everyone wants a webpage that they can use or control power. But let me tell you very clearly

that we have not felt any great pressure except for some psychological pressure" (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

Limiting the pressures faced by media professionals with only state pressure will not be sufficient to identify difficulties, disadvantages, and inequalities faced by employees in this field. Turkish or foreign journalists could face social pressure due to their news reports or the institutions they work in. Especially in today's media ecosystem, where journalism is predominantly carried out through digital media, news access platforms are diversified and thus disinformation is widespread. the reader/user can also produce content. This causes media workers to face more direct and more effective pressure methods.

Social Pressures

Pressures from various segments of society could have an impact on publishing activities. For instance, readers' negative discourses targeting foreign Turkish media organizations can be regarded as examples of social pressures.

Most of the readers approach Turkish foreign media organizations with suspicion in Turkey. The readers usually mention that they do not believe that foreign Turkish media is a free media, especially in their comments on the news which is shared by these organizations on social media. The readers describe foreign Turkish media organizations as a 'spy' with a hidden agenda. Besides, readers believe that these media organizations are used to manipulate the young population in Turkey. The media professionals interviewed were asked about their opinions about the readers' prejudices in this context. They shared their ideas as follows:

"Currently, a Turkish, European, western, or eastern journalist who works for foreign media is experiencing some problems in Turkey due to the raised xenophobia in this country. Readers treat foreigners as a spy, traitor, or separatist. When you go to interview a citizen as a news source, the person on the street treats you as a traitor publicly when you hand out the microphone with that logo or when s/he sees that camera on your shoulder. . . .We (Turkish people) still accept being Greek as an insult. Our job is challenging in this sense." (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

"At first, when we went on broadcasting, we were called Saudi spy. Then after a while, we were promoted from being a Saudi spy to a British spy. Finally, we were promoted to being a Russian spy from being a British spy, but all three were wrong. . . . Some readers have never seen or read our webpage. But because of these prejudices, they say 'These are already Saud. . . They are already a British spy. They are already Russian spy'. . . . Prejudices are still not broken. "(Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

"Turkey has been fortified with NATO since the Soviet Union and the Cold War years. If the Western press is being labeled as an agent, there are a hundred times that for us

> (Russia). 'Muscovite servant'. . . It is an expression that has been included in the concept set of Turkey. Communism collapsed, the Cold War finished, and Turkey-Russia relations are excellent now. . . But still, anyone, even your closest friends, could ask you: 'Are you a Moscow spy? Do you work for the KGB (committee for state security)?' These questions stem from a worldwide Russophobia: Communism will come this winter. . ." (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "A Russian spy or a KGB member. . . They can say a lot of things. In the past, they said that you are a supporter of the Ergenekon terrorist organization. Everybody says everything. There is no way to prevent it. Social media is such a field" (Yavuz Oğhan, Sputnik Turkish/RSFM).

Those who believe that corporate dignity, real journalism, and quality content will eventually break these prejudices have expressed their views as follows:

> "None of the journalism types are free from any doubt. But we are respectable journalists who have been doing this job for years." Peter Limbourg (DW).

> "First, we will overcome prejudices by letting our content speak" Jamie Angus (BBC).

> "We plan to produce journalism based solely on facts and neutral content. We are not here to convince people. We are not here to represent our government, as well. I think skepticism is healthy" Gallagher Fenwick (F24).

The participants expressed that pressures do not only come from readers but also pro-government media organizations as another type of social pressure.

> "When Russia's Plane was shot down, pro-government media close to blamed Sputnik very often. At that time, Russia was declared as an enemy and demon. There were even headlines like 'The center of betrayal: the voice of Russia!" (Yavuz Oğhan, Sputnik Turkish/RSFM).

All these views show that hate speech in today's journalism is one of the most critical challenges that journalists and broadcasters are facing. Interestingly, in previous research, hate speech emerged as a phenomenon identified in media texts. In contrast, in the present study, it was a social phenomenon that directly targeted journalists and the institutions they work.

"Based on hate speech prejudices, racism, fear of xenophobia, hostility, discrimination, sexism, and homophobia, etc. takes place. Factors such as cultural identities and group characteristics affect the use of hate speech; in conditions such as rising nationalism and intolerance to the different, hate language rises and increases its effect" (Alğan & Şensever, 2010: 15). In this context, the interviewed media professionals agree on how quickly hate-filled messages from readers are spreading and overwhelming.

Cultural Factors

Culture has a strong influence on the structure and production of information that has news value. Journalists feel pressure indirectly or, in some cases, to comply with traditional cultural norms, depending on the regional environment in which they work (Alhomoud, 2012). Culture is often defined concerning shared social practices, meanings, beliefs, symbols, and norms. The relationship between journalism, culture, and society is symbiotic. Journalism influences culture, but it is also influenced by culture. As some people claim, journalism is a culture (Hanusch, 2016). When evaluated from this framework, glocal foreign media organizations broadcasting Turkish, it was observed that the reporters were mostly chosen among Turkish media employees who are aware of social sensitivities.

> "The vast majority of journalists in Turkish foreign media organizations in Turkey are Turk. We have just one Russian friend. He has been working in the IT department. Apart from that, we can say that our office is a local and national office, from its editor to technical manager, or reporter. This situation could be the same for all the foreign media organizations that broadcast Turkish" (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

The interviewed media professionals think that knowing culture has a decisive impact on journalism. Compliance with the elements and the opinions constituting culture is an essential factor for journalism practices.

> "Seeing the sensitivity of the Turkish people. Understanding that they are not just a block. The Republic of Turkey does not consist of supporters of CHP, the AK Party, or HDP. A mix of all." (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "Metrobus is the average of this country. In the world, so is the subway. Therefore, everything that hits everyone's feet and affects their lives must be our news. The news story can sometimes be a problem with the smell of sweat in the metrobus. It can also be about the cost of living. If we only make news that focusing on human rights and arrested journalists, it means to reduce and exclude the audience. What we try to do here is doing interviews with people coming out of Eid Prayer on Eid morning and giving the qurban prices. In the words of Mehmet Ali Birand (a senior media professional from Turkey), everything that touches the life of the average citizen and an ordinary citizen on the street must be the subject of our publication. It does not mean that we ignore the things that the average Turkish citizen tolerates or does not care about in Turkey" (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

The participants who stated that the sensitivities of the public are an essential determinant in the practice of journalism and expressed their views as follows:

> "(President of the Republic of Turkey) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has 1500 photos. Which photo you use as a media organization is essential. We chose the possible neutral ones

> in those photos. We know that we broadcast to the Turkish people. We have to keep in mind that. For instance, Turkey has some sensitivities regarding North Cyprus. We have done broadcasting that takes into account the sensitivity of the Turkish people" (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

> "For instance, if there is a conflict zone in the country, Al Jazeera and the BBC do not use certain expressions (such as martyrs) to remain neutral about that area of conflict. They avoid using such definitions. We initially had such an approach. Then we realized that there are some truths in this country. (This kind of expressions) are being perceived as a political attitude. For instance, we gave it up this kind of usage. Now, we prefer to use 'Anadolu Agency says like this,' 'minister says like that.' It is a bit of a winding way." (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

Knowing the culture, getting closer to cultural elements, and knowing the sensitivity and language of the people are among the necessary qualities sought in the employees of glocal foreign media organizations. In this context, domestic preferences in employment and particular preferences in news discourse on sensitive issues appear as an inequality stemming from culture.

Instability in the Country

Threats and restrictions on freedom of the press affect both the journalist herself/himself, the news sources, and the institution to which he belongs. Threats and restrictions on media outlets and press members, particularly in areas of social, ethnic, and political stress, in cases of armed conflict or disaster can be listed as new forms of censorship and oppression of the state, self-censorship, surveillance, monitoring and control, hate speech, threshold guard, propaganda / disinformation, and anti-terror laws (Orgeret & Tayeebwa, 2016: 8). In short, wars, terrorist incidents, natural disasters, and coups that shake the stability of the country, have restrictive effects on national, international, and global media organizations. However, the media professionals currently interviewed have not expressed any opinion about the harmful effects of instability in the country on the reporting practices and the inequalities it creates.

The opinions of the interviewed media professionals about the advantages of the institution they work for are also noteworthy. These advantages can be evaluated within the scope of technological possibilities and economic conditions.

The Advantages

When the data obtained from the interviews are examined, we observed that some inequalities are affecting these institutions. On the other hand, there are some technological and economic advantages provided by working conditions

as well. This situation empowers the glocal foreign media outlets that broadcast in Turkish against other media outlets and causes inequality between foreign-funded and national media outlets.

A participant who makes evaluations on economic conditions stated that they do not differ from national mainstream media, but they are advantageous over the alternative, local, and regional media outlets.

> "I got my salary on time while I was working for CNNTürk (a national mainstream television channel). I took my compensation, as well. Then I worked at (the mainstream newspapers) Posta and Radikal. There wasn't any trouble too. On the other hand, I had some difficulties at Artı1 (a nonmainstream television channel). If you work for a periphery media organization instead of a mainstream one, life conditions become more difficult for journalists. This is because small media organizations cannot get ads. Apart from that, the fees on internet sites are usually deficient. As journalists move away from the center, financial difficulties could start." (Yavuz Oğhan, Sputnik Turkish/RSFM).

Another participant drew attention to the economic benefits of media professionals who work for the glocal foreign media organizations by stated that they have relatively better salaries than their national colleagues.

> "Some of the friends, who work in television broadcasting before working in the foreign press in Turkey, are getting good money. I can say, working conditions of these reporters, editors are a bit over the salary conditions in Turkey. They make the employee insured; here it is not possible. Because the state does not give the Internet media that opportunity" (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

In general, the participants stated that they do not differ from the national media in terms of technological conditions. However, the media professionals emphasized that they receive support from abroad, and they benefited from artificial intelligence in terms of new news types and the production stage of the news.

> "For example, on social media there is a system called equlax that we use at Twitter. This system is used very little in Turkey. Artificial Intelligence system. The feature is that artificial intelligence decides at what time the news will be tweeted and at what time it will be read. He thinks on behalf of you. A new system. We've been using it for two weeks." (Nevzat Çiçek, Independent Turkish).

> "We haven't any difference technologically. Everyone is using the same computer. Maybe a little strong, maybe a little weak. The difference is, the things which distinguish Sputnik from other broadcasters in Turkey are the multimedia tools that we use. Infographics, photo galleries... As much as possible 3D narration pages, storytelling. For example, we have an infographic about the October Revolution of 1917. Prepared in Moscow. Very avant-garde. Used fonts, visuals, storytelling... These are unfortunately not in the Turkish media. Our interactive stories are prepared jointly. The technical part

of the work is done in Moscow, but our editors give the backbone of the story and the text." (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik).

"The production stage of a news story is planned from the decision-making stage to the sharing time and the discourse of that news. We receive a know-how for each news from the specialist units and witness a news production process news flow. After deciding whether or not to make a news topic, in which medium it should be broadcast, whether it should be video-oriented, which audience it will touches, when and how it should be broadcasted... There is more than that the understanding of 'I wrote the news. Here, you broadcast it and make it reach more audiences.' In the production processes of the news, there is a professional and mutual cooperation from the moment that the reporter starts the news, that is, until the reporter reaches the reader." (Bülent Mumay, DW Turkish).

Today, some of the most important problems encountered in digital journalism are the intertwining of advertisements and news content and click bait journalism. Interviewed media professionals stated that the news content they presented was easy to read and free of advertising and click trap. In this sense, they emphasized that they have better quality content compared to other media organizations. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that receiving financial support from the organizations they are affiliated with during the news production stage and using artificial intelligence.

"Foreign media organizations broadcast much cleaner, much more original and do not drown people, do not tire. The news comes directly. You seldom encounter a Google ad, and you can skip it without making it an issue of. You don't click many times on the page to see a gallery. The reader is aware of this. Click bait isn't a trap now." (Mahir Boztepe, Sputnik Turkish).

When a general assessment is made based on the opinions of the media professionals, in terms of the economic benefits provided to employees by the glocal media organizations, there is no significant difference from the mainstream media organizations broadcasting nationally. However, they are in an advantageous position compared to local broadcasters. They have stated that technologically, they do not have very different technical equipment then mainstream media organizations in Turkey.

Conclusion

This article focuses on working practices of journalists who work for foreign Turkish media organizations in Turkey. The examination of the working conditions of Turkish glocal foreign media organizations in Turkey, shows us these media organizations have both advantages and disadvantages. The

disadvantages arise from legal, social, and cultural repression. On the other hand, the advantages arising from the economic and technological conditions of these institutions. This situation creates a variety of multidimensional inequalities that are not easy to detect at first glance when compared with national and local media organizations in terms of working conditions. State pressure, access to information, social pressures, cultural factors, and instability in the country are the most important parameters that make the inequalities visible. An employee of a foreign broadcasting organization, whether a citizen of a foreign country or a citizen of the country that foreign media is broadcasting, must overcome "the accreditation process" in order to be accepted by the state and to continue its activities. Accreditation is an essential criterion in providing access to information and documents related to official institutions.

The media professionals interviewed within the scope of the present research are all like-minded complaining about the pressure and control elements coming from Turkey because being subject to Turkish laws. However, the same media professionals have abstained about the possible effects of the state institutions to which they are financially bound. Accreditation, shortcomings in legal regulations for internet media employees, and reports published by non-governmental organizations about themselves have been observed as pressure and control elements applied by the state.

As a result of the interviews conducted within the scope of this research, it was seen that hate speech was reproduced over foreign broadcasters. Especially the crisis times (economic, political, and cultural) in Turkey triggers the circulation of this discourse. Crises between countries also affect the journalistic activities of the glocal foreign Turkish media organizations. This impact on foreign broadcasters is not only limited in the political and legal spheres but also manifests in the discourse of the society. The interviewed media professionals expressed their discomfort from the hate speech caused by xenophobia in society. They also stressed that this situation affects their working conditions and their access to information. At first glance, the foreign Turkish media organizations seem to be advantageous because they have relatively economic autonomy and some technological opportunities. On the other hand, the workers of these media organizations are being labeled as 'spy' rather than 'journalist' by nationalist-conservative readers.

Though many negative factors have been expressed by interviewees, it seems foreign media investments are spreading in Turkey. Hence, it is hoped that the results of the present research can contribute to the literature by showing the effects of the bilateral relations between the countries, technological conditions, and the social structure on the journalistic activities of the foreign glocal Turkish media organizations.

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Nalan Ova & Seyfi KILIÇ

Fact-Checking Services in Turkey: The Case of *Teyit.org* and *Doğrulukpayi.com*

Introduction

The recently frequent fake news is a new yet increasingly visible concept which forces it be evaluated within the context of social, political, economic, and cultural space. The environment of crisis of the capitalist and neoliberal economy policies polarized the political field particularly since the 2000's. The divide in the political field within the pivot of charismatic leader/public, minority/majority, democratic/non-democratic, right/left makes this polarization even more visible. Again, starting in the 2000's, speed and transformations which occurred in internet technology made information more accessible, and also took its increasing economic value in the market – its production, distribution and circulation – to a new level. Increasing debate in the recent years on the concept of fake news also points to the discussion around the post-truth era, where belief in reality is less and less important in the public field, and personal emotions and ideas gain significance instead. Political economy of the digital field, increasingly visible polarization in the political structure, and the concept of fake news, which needs to be evaluated in accordance with the discussions of the changing nature of reality in the post-truth era, also signify a change in the news which consists of fact-based texts, and journalism ethic itself in the liberal tendency of unbiased and objective presentation of facts and events since the start of the 20th century.

Visibility of the concept of fake news in the political and social field brought along a search for how to intervene and solve the increase in the production and circulation of fake news. Institutionally, fact-checking platforms first started in the United States of America in the beginning of the 2000's and are multiplying in various countries of the world as new formations in the fight against fake news in this context. As stated by Graves (2016), news verification/fact-checking became an expanding movement which gathers many different operators from different cultures of journalism, various media systems, from academia, civil society, and political field. Fact-checking sites which increase in numbers day by day are becoming more legitimate especially by being referenced by policy makers and they share similar practices with them (Lowrey, 2017: 337). Having

said that, fact-checking practices in the international field, while following the first examples in the USA, differ based on each country's political and social conditions. Fact-checking services which increased in numbers especially since the 2010's, constitute a remarkable movement in the global scale as well as containing a set of differences in their purposes, institutional structures and practices, or their foundations.

This study aims to discuss the present situation of news verification/fact-checking services through the example of two prominent justification/fact-checking platforms in Turkey, *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org* and compare and contrast them with the other examples from the world on starting points, purposes, institutional structure and practices.

Fake News

Fake news/false news is not in fact a new concept, but it has become more visible in the political and social field. Today, fake news can be produced with various purposes. In some situations, fake news can be utilized in organized disinformation campaigns for disrupting current social structure. Similarly, fake news is sometimes deliberately spread through viral rumors or false information by political actors to shape public opinion from within the state. Additionally, sometimes such news can be produced for entertainment purposes only[1]. Another important reason behind fake news is a desire to generate economic revenue from the digital environment through the production and sharing of such news. The online platforms in which such news are included may receive advertisements based on the number of clicks, which makes it possible to use such news as a means of making profit (Vasu et al. 2018).

Wardle (2017) evaluates the concept of fake news/false news in 7 categories: Satire or parody (no intention to cause harm but has potential to fool), misleading content (misleading use of information to frame an issue or individual), imposter content (when genuine sources are impersonated), fabricated content (new content is 100 % false, designed to deceive and do harm), false connection (when headlines, visuals or captions don't support to content), false context (when genuine content is shared with false contextual information),

1 Even if they are created entirely for entertainment purposes, fake stories are perceived as real and shared by many users. The influence and visibility of this type of parody or satire stories are also discussed. Writers who emphasize the strategic role of parody in far-right wing political movements draw attention to the fact that people can spread their extreme ideas through irony or mask these extreme ideas as parody.

manipulated content (when genuine information or imagery is manipulated to deceive). When these categories are considered, it is possible to define fake news/ false news basically as news/story which includes certain elements which are entirely false/unreal or deliberately have false/unreal elements in context or content (Bakir and McStay, 2017: 154).

Particularly the 2016 U.S. presidential elections placed the phenomenon at the center of public debate (Burkhardt, 2017; Journell, 2017; Vargo et al. 2018). In the election process, Donald Trump and his supporters accused mainstream media which were critical of him and his policies of directly manufacturing lies as news (Journell, 2017). The frequent use of the concept by Trump and his supporters in the election process also suggests that any information or thought that contradicts the political orientation of a person or group may be “a lie” even if the fact is true, and that the legitimacy of any evidence-based information is questionable. This understanding that verifiable, rational truth can be ignored is in fact a direct reflection of the contemporary world, also called the post-truth era.

Post-truth, which was chosen as the word of the year in 2016 by Oxford Dictionary is defined as “relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than emotions and personal beliefs.” With the post-truth era where personal emotions and beliefs replace fact or evidence (Rochlin, 2017: 368), news also transformed as its production is directly connected to policy of information and truth (Martin, 2017: 42). With the post-truth era, news is directed at a belief and emotion-oriented market as the reality of the story becomes less and less important. News becomes adaptable to what people want to hear instead of the truth, then it spreads on a mass scale via social media tools with the speed of digital technology. In today’s societies, social media is no longer just a space where individuals share their personal lives but a primary source in the production, circulation and consumption of news. Next to their personal lives, people also share and circulate news and stories about beliefs and norms they like and agree with. Contrary to traditional news sources, social media as resource becomes a platform where ordinary people create information in accordance with their own ideas and beliefs (Rochlin, 2017: 368). Accordingly, individuals increasingly tend to ignore or deny truths that go against their emotions and beliefs on debated socio-cultural and political issues (Brandtzaeg and Folstad, 2017).

In the digital environment where truth loses its importance and information circulates very quickly, the questions of how readers can assess the accuracy of the information to which they are exposed and how they can fight false information are also controversial (Vasu et al. 2018). With today’s neoliberal policies,

which suggest that anything is possible, it is becoming increasingly difficult to separate reality from fiction, which makes people vulnerable to rapidly flowing false information (Burkhardt 2017: 11). Recent research has shown that false gossip and misinformation are spreading faster than ever through social media, and that about 50 % of users are exposed to false information through digital platforms (Brandtzaeg and Folstad, 2017).

False news/fake news is not a new phenomenon even though its visibility has increased, and it has been discussed frequently in recent years. Although the concept constituted an important topic in the 2016 U.S. presidential elections, the production of this kind of information has been encountered since ancient times when the sharing of knowledge and knowledge was dominated by the ruling groups and the knowledge was seen as a means of controlling society by the power (Burkhardt, 2017: 5)[2]. Although its production is as old as the history of humankind, the production of such news and information has become easier especially in the 20th century in order to convince and influence the public due to political and economic interests. Today's digital media ecology, on the other hand, leads to an unprecedented increase in the speed and circulation of such news. Bakir and McStay (2017: 157–158) discuss the phenomenon of fake news/false news as a result of five fundamental phenomena of today's digital media ecology. First of all, the print press has to deal with a number of difficulties due to the declining readership and consequently falling income in the last decades. Through fast developments in digital technology, readers are able to obtain news online for free. Another feature of digital media ecology in favor of fake news/false news production; compared to traditional news practices, social media platforms are more apt at responding to the demand in line with this speed in the 24-hour-news cycle. This situation also corrodes traditional journalism values which require spending a certain amount of time in order to verify information from various sources. In line with post-truth discussions, another feature of today's media environment is its structure which is encouraging of a space where personal emotions and opinions are primary instead of fact-based truths. As the online environment eases individual anonymity, emotions can come to the fore and circulate instead of facts more easily. The number of people who benefit from online advertisement revenue increases daily, which is another feature of

2 Literacy, which increased in the West with the invention of print, created an important turning point by speeding up the circulation time of information. With the rise of literacy, it has been getting more and more difficult to manipulate people in line with the government's interests through false information and lies.

digital media ecology. This increases the use of fake news as tools to attract clicks. Some of the content that is designed to gain ad revenue from solely the online environment, can be sensational (Bakir and McStay 2017: 157–158). Economic structure of digital media is a basic dynamic in the production of these news. Ensuring that a maximum number of people share an attention-grabbing story raises ad revenue in proportion to the number of clicks (Rochlin, 2017: 388). This is exactly why fake news/false news is easily created and circulated as a money-making tool for certain entrepreneurs or ordinary people (Vargo et al. 2018). Particularly 21st century economic incentives enhanced people's motivation to create fake news. Today, where advertisers aim to spread information about their products to the biggest masses possible, the control of visitor numbers on sites for data mining becomes highly significant. Popular websites which are visited a lot are interesting to advertisers in this regard (Burkhardt, 2017).

In summation, fake news/false news' increasing visibility fueled the ongoing debate about online gossip and political lies in the fragmented media environment of our day. These discussions also focus on the effects of fake news/false news generated and circulated by different motivations. Studies on the subject of fake news' effects in the U.S.A. and Europe show that online users' direct visits to fake news sites are quite limited, and the users who are subjected to these sites still follow the news from mainstream news sources. However, the studies on the subject also point out that fabricated news stories gain more and more attention on social networks and some partisan groups – such as Trump and his followers – regularly visit sites which feature fake news. While the debate on its effects continues, many Western countries, especially Germany, France and Ireland, have started to take steps to solve the dissemination of false information through legal sanctions in order to prevent this kind of news produced and circulated by commercial or political motivations. This situation brings with it an increasing interest in fact-checking services in the fight against false information/fake news (Graves, 2018: 1–2). In short, the internet makes it possible for people to access factual content, but in an environment where it is increasingly complex and difficult to filter and evaluate online content due to the rapid flow of large volumes of information through social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter (Brandtzaeg and Følstad, 2017), the possibilities and limitations offered by fact-checking sites now take part in the discussion.

Fact-Checking Movement in the Fight Against Fake News

Increasing and globalizing fact-checking services are relatively new formations that can gather different cultures of journalism and media systems, different non-governmental organizations, policy makers and experts from the academic field. Fact-checking services gained more visibility after 2010 but their existence actually dates back to the 1980's (Lowrey, 2017; Graves, 2016). The political PR around Ronald Reagen's presidency in the U.S.A. saw news manipulate the public opinion, which created a fear amongst journalists that they were losing control over news (Lowrey, 2017: 337) and during this period in the U.S.A. singular fact-checking examples started in some newspapers (Graves, 2016: 615). With the popularization of the internet since the 1990's, many online blogs from different political orientations in the U.S.A. started controlling the news in the mainstream media and the speeches of political candidates (Lowrey, 2017: 337). In this sense, "ad watch", who tried to evaluate the correctness of political PR campaigns, is one of the predecessors of fact-checking (Graves et al., 2016: 106). Also, hoax busting websites, which appeared in the 1990's in order to verify not political allegations but news that were made as jokes, are the predecessors of fact-checking services according to Lowrey. Apart from the singular examples in the 1990's, *FactCheck.org*, which started its work in 2003 founded by the Annenberg Foundation and professional journalists in America, gained recognition as a non-partisan political fact-checking site (2017: 377). Following *FactCheck.org*, *PolitiFact* and *the Washington Post's Fact Checker* organization came to the fore as important initiators of fact-checking practices in the 2000's. After these first examples in America, new fact-checking groups appeared in the international field in the 2000's. *United Kingdom's Channel 4 Fact Check*, influenced by *FactCheck.org* was founded in 2005 to cover parliamentary elections. Fact-checking services modeled after the first examples in America were founded in France in 2007, and in Serbia in 2009. A dramatic increase in the fact-checking movement took place in the year 2010. 20 different fact-checking services started in 6 different countries. And in the recent years, it spread to many countries in the world and became a movement including more than a hundred sites (Graves, 2016: 615–616). Depending on this increase, fact-checking services today differ from each other in institutional purposes that might influence their trustworthiness, funding, or areas of interest. Fact-checking services can be evaluated in three categories based on their main area of interest: "Political and public statements in general, corresponding to the fact checking of politicians, online rumors and hoaxes, reflecting the need for debunking services and specific topics or controversies

or particular conflicts or narrowly scoped issues or events" (Brandtzaeg and Følstad, 2017: 65).

Even though they can be categorized by areas of interest, the concept of fact-checking is still not an area with an agreed upon, clear definition. As the version adapted by first political fact-checkers in the U.S.A., it involves evaluating political claims from the public field. However, as Graves also points out, the concept today does not have a clear definition. Nonetheless in 2014, American Press Institute (API) defined it in an instructive manner: "Fact checkers and fact-checking organizations aim to increase knowledge by re-reporting and researching the purported facts in published/recorded statements made by politicians and anyone whose words impact others' lives and livelihoods. Fact checkers investigate verifiable facts, and their work is free of partisanship, advocacy and rhetoric" (Graves, 2016: 615).

Two principle reasons are thought to be the reasons behind the lack of an agreement on fact-checking as a concept and field of practice in the fight against false news. First is, as Graves explains (2016), in America where it started, professional journalists dominate the field of fact-checking. However, this changes from country to country that have historically different political, social and economic structures, and therefore different understandings of journalism and media systems. Many fact-checking services in the international field adopt primary practices in America and try to function as a bridge between politics, academy, journalism and civil society. This hybridity in fact is a characteristic feature of the movement, and is important in pointing out the diversity in politics and media systems which lead to fact-checking in different countries. This situation should not be ignored in the discussions around the movement as it can directly define the reasons of founding of fact-checking services, their main purpose and practice field, their level of interaction with different actors from politics, economy, the public sphere, and their field of impact.

Another reason behind discussions of fact-checking, different perspectives on definition and practices are also thought to be related to these services' purposes and trustworthiness. As stated by Marietta et al. (2015), in the literature, different debates are being conducted regarding the practices of fact-checking services. Fact-checking is a highly successful and highly praised field, however it raises questions on how neutrality is achieved, as well as a critical perspective on the methods and results applied by fact-checking services in the fight against fake news. In today's societies where the political sphere is becoming increasingly polarized, the professional verification of the truth of political phenomena is in fact becoming increasingly valuable and reputable. One of the most important proofs of this is that *PolitiFact* was awarded the prestigious Pulitzer Award in

2009. However, the studies on the varying epistemological and methodological orientations and results obtained through them cause the limitations of fact-checking services to be included in the debate next to the opportunities they present (Marietta et al., 2015: 577–579; Uscinski and Butler, 2013: 162–166; Vargo et al., 2018).

Fact-Checking Services in Turkey: *Teyit.org* and *Doğrulukpayı.com*

Fact checking services began to institutionalize in the 2000's with the implementation of *FactCheck.org* (2003), *PolitiFact* (2007) and *The Washington Post Fact Checker* (2007) in the United States and grew rapidly in the world especially after 2010. They have an increasing visibility in the fight against false news/fake news. The first example of news verification/fact-checking in Turkey is *doğrulukpayi.com* founded in 2013 as an initiative of the Dialogue for a Common Future Association. Turkey's first political fact checking service *Doğrulukpayi.com* is a member of International Fact Checking Network (IFCN) which was founded in 2015 within the Poynter Institute in order to strengthen the cooperation of fact-checking organizations in the world, and improve the effects, quality and practices of fact-checking. *Doğrulukpayi.com* is one of the 67 fact-checking services which signed the IFCN's guide of principles. Baybars Örsek, one of the founders of *doğrulukpayi.com*, has been serving as director of IFCN since February 2019 (Uzunoğlu, 2019). Another first in this field is Malumatfuruş, founded in 2017 as a continuation of the web site "Muhtesip" (Kavaklı 2019, Yegen, 2018). *Teyit.org*, founded in 2016 by Teyit Media Research, is one of the two IFCN members from Turkey next to *doğrulukpayı.com*. Another platform which can be evaluated within the field of fact-checking is *teyit.org*. The main principle of this platform is to detect false online news which are meant to provoke, and to share the truth. Other two platforms which can be evaluated in the field of fact-checking in Turkey are *yalansavar.org* and *bilimkazani.org*. All of these platforms differ in their areas of interest. What they have in common is that they all serve as online platforms.

This work carries out a discussion on Turkey's fact-checking platforms' current state in the context of the platforms mentioned above through the examples of *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org*. Within the scope of the study, in-depth interviews were conducted with Denizcan Sarı, digital operations coordinator from dogrulukpayi.com, and editors İrem Doğanışık and Emincan Yüksel; and from *teyit.org*, chief editor Gülin Çavuş and editor Ali Osman Arabacı, in September 2019.

The choice of the two platforms as the sample of research is influenced by the fact that they are institutionalized compared to the other examples and that they are the only two members of the IFCN[3]. In this study, findings obtained from in-depth interviews with the representatives from these two platforms are evaluated with regard to Graves' extensive study of in-depth interviews and questionnaires with fact-checking organizations and fact-checkers on an international scale in 2010–2016[4]. Through said evaluation, it is aimed to propound the general condition of fact-checking platforms in Turkey, also to compare and contrast fact-checking platforms in Turkey with other examples from the world with regard to founding, purpose, extent and organizational structure. This purpose complies with the allegation that the fact-checking organizations' movements and production practices have similar elements and that the movement which has become increasingly global has a heterogenous character despite the fact that each country has distinctly unique political and social structures, and concordantly changing media systems.

3 International Fact-Checking Network, despite not having the power to sanction in the field of fact-checking, has controlling power over fact-checking services. Fact-checking platforms which sign the IFCN's guide of principles, of which the criteria are updated each year, make the commitment of: 1) adherence to the principle of impartiality and fairness, 2) adherence to the transparency of resources, 3) adherence to the transparency of financial and organizational structure, 4) adherence to the transparency of management, 5) adherence to the principle of clear and reliable correction of analyzes. IFCN is an organization that seeks to achieve cooperation and influence in the field of fact-checking, where certain principles on transparency and publishing are adopted by the community rather than a membership-based organization in the classical sense.

4 Graves' mentioned study is based on the findings of in-depth interviews and questionnaires with participants from fact-checking platforms in the Global Fact-Checking Summit conducted in 8–10 June 2014 and 22–24 July 2015 and in-depth interviews and observations from Africa Fact-Check based in Johannesburg in March 2016, Full Fact based in London in July 2015, Libération's Desintox and Le Monde's Les Decodeurs platforms with head offices in Paris in June 2014. Graves gained data about America by participatory observation and 30 semi-structured question forms filled by platform members from the three-leading fact-checking platforms of the U.S.A.: FactCheck.org, PolitiFact and Washington Post's Fact Checker.

Teyit.org and *Doğrulukpayı.com* Platforms' Founding and Purpose

Fact-checking movement, which has become globalized today, is influenced by the practices in America which can be seen as the predecessors of the movement. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, it shows diversity based on the differences of policy, economy, social conditions and media structures. This diversity becomes especially visible in the context of fact-checking services' founding and purposes.

The process which pushed the chosen sample for the context of Turkey, *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org*, to organize as fact-checking platforms includes events which occurred in Turkey's recent political and social agenda, and the crisis environment stemming from loss of trust in Turkey's mainstream media. According to Denizcan Sarı, the process, which pushed the first fact-checking platform *doğrulukpayi.com* in this context to organize, is the debate in the public sphere about whether the mainstream media met its function of correctly informing the public opinion during the Gezi Park protests in 2013. During Gezi Park protests, the fast and uncontrolled spread of false or fake news both on social media and on mainstream media, has come to the fore as an element which raised the demand for access to true/real information. Failure of traditional mainstream media to meet this demand is the most important reason for the founding of *doğrulukpayi*.com (Şahinsoy, 2018: 88). Similarly, *teyit.org* is a platform which was founded in 2016 under the influence of the crisis in the public opinion during suicide attacks, armed assaults, bombings and explosions in Turkey in 2015. Gülin Çavuş emphasizes that the idea of starting a platform such as *teyit.org* came after a lot of people started sharing false information particularly in times of crisis. According to Çavuş, people see social media as a source of quickly getting information during crises, therefore false information is able to spread very fast. *Teyit.org*'s founding purpose is directly related to people's exposure to false information during moments of crisis.

This study's participants from the two fact-checking platforms agree on the fact that Turkey's political sphere and mainstream media, visual and written press are polarized as an extension of the current polarized public sphere and cannot deliver on their function of giving correct/objective news. This is exactly why the two fact-checking platforms share the purpose of responding to the public need of being informed and give people the skill to critically reevaluate the false information they are exposed to in an environment where trust in the mainstream media is decreasing and social media is quickly spreading false information. According to Denizcan Sarı from *doğrulukpayi.com*, ethical

questions around Turkey's new media environment aside, traditional media is failing to perform its duty of correctly informing the public. On the mainstream media's crisis, Ali Osman Arabacı from *teyit.org* thinks that Turkey's journalism practices are evolving into a structure far from the ideal. Turkey's media's political economy, ownership relations and media-power relations both historic and of today are basic reasons of the mentioned crisis.

According to Gülin Çavuş, false/fake news are produced by the mainstream media regardless of the organization's political and ideological standing. Çavuş highlights that false news can occur independently of political partisanship of the mainstream media, and suggests that false news can be produced by pro-government or anti-government organizations alike. Stating that fake news are produced not only in terms of politics, but in the sections of health, science and technology, Çavuş says that even platforms that qualify themselves as "objective" can include fake or false news (Şahinsoy, 2018: 93).

In a nutshell, the two fact-checking platforms' appearance was influenced by the mainstream media news' failure to respond to the public opinion's need for correct and objective news in the recent environment of social crisis and important events. In the environment in question, *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org*, born entirely from civil society, carry the purpose of defending the public's right to access correct news in the era of misinformation that the public opinion is exposed to. This fact-checking platforms' founding by rights-based NGO's in the pivot of civil activism is also a signifier of the fact that fact-checking services are shaped differently in each country's political, social, economic conditions despite being influenced by their American predecessors.[5]

Verification Platforms at a Crossroads in between Fact-Checker and Journalist in Turkey

Social and political crisis, the increasing polarization in the social and political arena, and the loss of confidence in the media in recent years in Turkey have directly affected the founding of *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org* verification platforms, the selected sample of the study. Underlining that their work is a different practice than journalism, interviewees from the teyit.org, identify as fact-checkers, not journalists. For example, according to Gülin Çavuş, journalism is a

5 In different countries in the World, there are fact-checking platforms born from civil activism movements similarly to Turkey. For example, fact-checking platforms in India were born from the anti-corruption movement in the country while Egypt's fact-checking movement started during Tahrir Square uprisings (Graves, 2016: 621).

practice based on supervising the public's right to access information. However, in a polarized media environment, the fact that the things that the public wants to hear rather than the truth are served as news is undermining the nature of the profession. For this very reason, unlike a journalist, Çavuş believes that the fact-checker should try to eliminate the polarization in society, look out for the public interest, and promote critical thinking among society. Çavuş reveals the fundamental purpose of *teyit.org* as such.

The fact that a lot of journalists and journalism organizations don't do the journalists' basic duty, which is to confirm and fact-check the obtained information, is a fundamental problem according to Çavuş. Similarly, Ali Osman Arabacı, from *teyit.org* editors, defines himself as a fact-checker despite having a journalism major. Arabacı emphasizes that the main duty of a journalist is to confirm information which is thought to be beneficial for the public opinion from different sources and to inform the public and expresses that Turkey's media structure is far from this practice of journalism. In fact, he expresses that what they do as *teyit.org* is actually what the journalist should ideally do; to go to the source, do research on the correctness of the information, and to present the truth based on evidence. The place they differentiate from journalists as fact-checkers is that they are isolated from the relations of ownership and power of media. Arabacı, who underlines that they have isolated themselves from power and various economic interests, and that for this reason, they are freer, and that they separate from journalists in economic and political objectivity.

Denizcan Sarı from *doğrulukpayi.com* states that only 1 worker out of the 9 full-time, 3 free-time employees at *doğrulukpayi.com* has a journalism formation, and suggests that that might be an advantage, but that he has know-how about basic competence in fact-checking research methods and techniques. According to Batuhan Ersun, one of the founders and the proprietor of *doğrulukpayi.com*, without the title of journalist, they do the job that journalists should do but don't. Ersun states that they consciously prefer not to work with people with a journalism formation and emphasizes that the fact-checking process should be conducted without rushing the news or worrying about reads and clicks (Şahinsoy, 2018: 88).

Said approach is thought to be directly linked to fact-checking platforms in Turkey being founded in a civil society focused structure. This, as Graves stressed (2016), emerges as a general trend in fact-checking organizations arising from internationally claimed NGO's. Many fact-checking platforms that emerge from NGO-based organizations of researchers with no journalistic background or formation distinguish their work from journalistic practices. Since the beginning of 2016, two-thirds of the active fact-checkers listed in the global database have

direct links with a news organization. Many independent sites are also serviced by journalists. 50 % of the fact-checkers who participated in the International Fact Checking Summit in London in 2014 identify themselves as journalists, and journalists dominate the field in the United States. However, according to the statistical results of a 2016 survey, 90 % of fact checkers in the United States are connected to a news organization, while this number is very low in fact-checking organizations outside the U.S. Many fact-checking organizations, NGO's in particular, do not have direct links to journalism or journalists. However, despite the fact that employees in the international field of fact-checking have training in various fields of social sciences in different fields than journalism, they do not feel uncomfortable referring to the fact-checking process as a journalistic concept (2016: 624–626). However, in Turkey, the platforms of *teyit.org* and *doğrulukpayi.com*, which were structured as NGO-based in foundation, do not refer to their work as journalism or evaluate their practices in the context of journalistic practices despite having employees with expertise in different fields of social sciences, and not having institutional ties to any news or journalism organization.

In the study, interviewees from both fact-checking platform emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of the field of fact-checking and think that this provides them with a large scale of activity unlike journalists. It can be contemplated that Turkey's fact-checking platforms' differentiation from journalistic practices is influenced by the mainstream media's recent environment of crisis. Polarization, which is apparent in Turkey's mainstream media's economy-political organizational structure, pushed the profession of journalism to partisan polarization beyond the function of informing. The objectivity of news, the basis for liberal perception of media, is now questioned by the public. Therefore, fact checkers don't want to be referred to in the context of journalism and emphasize impartiality.

In Turkey, *teyit.org* and *doğrulukpayi.com*'s separation from journalism directly projects on their organizational structure. All interviewees in the study agree that the field of fact-checking should be interdisciplinary, and employees have formations in different fields such as political science, international relations, and economy.

Both fact-checking platforms' critical approach to Turkey's mainstream media's political economy, their journalism and news production practices, and that they separate their work from journalism, are thought to be directly influenced by their structures born out of rights-based, civil activism NGO's. Both platforms separate their production in this context from mainstream media's production and organization structures which are directly linked to focal points of economic

and political power. NGO-based structure in the field of fact-checking facilitates non-profit configurations. Not having economic profit goals seems to be the criterion which ensures the organizations' objectivity. Emphasizing that *teyit.org* is a social initiative at its core, Gülin Çavuş points out that their biggest purpose is to create impact and that they try to get funding not to just sustain their existence but to amplify this impact. Nevertheless, she does state that they are picky in the subject of funding, and that they only accept funding offers which guarantee that they sustain their independent, free and objective work. Çavuş says that they get funded by embassies, users or followers of *teyit.org.* Their primary funding source is Facebook in the point of economical sustainability[6].

Mehmet Atakan Foça, founder of *teyit.org*, states their main purpose as organizing a structure that can economically stand on its own, and that their stages of founding and establishment were completed through funds and grants. Foça highlights that organizations that are associated with media in Turkey such as teyit.org officially receive funding from the European Union and embassies, but that they are then declared "agents" or "infiltrators". Çavuş from *teyit.org* says that no matter how meticulously they apply for the funds that wouldn't influence their objectivity, they are still deemed "someone's henchman". Moreover, it is stated that teyit.org plans to reduce income from funds and grands, and evolve into a structure with more user support instead. It is also emphasized that economical income resources are important in order to transfer resources to the desired technologies, to enforce technical capacity for data based creative writing, and to join meetings out of the country to stay informed about the developments in the field[7].

Just as *teyit.org,* non-profit fact checking organization *doğrulukpayi.com* considers independence from economic power relations to be important for the sustainability of their impartiality. Stating that their income mainly consists of support from various civil society funds and donations from users, Denizcan Sarı emphasizes that they aim to ensure sustainability through mass funding in the long term. However, when applying for non-governmental funds, the basic criterion in the application process is that the qualifications of the institution are in compliance with their main purposes and qualifications. When applying to a

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6 *teyit.org* founder Mehmet Atakan Foça says that they received funding from the British Embassy and the European Union "Sivil Düşün" Program when *teyit.org* was first founded, and underlines that they try to diversify their resources in compliance with the principles of transparency. http://gorunumgazetesi.net/medya-etik/internet-haberlerini-dogrulamak-icin-teyit-org).

7 https://journo.com.tr/teyit-org-fonlari-azaltmak-destegi-arttirmak.

fund, Denizcan Sarı stresses that they pay attention to whether or not any item is included in the contract that goes against their working principles and that they refuse commercial advertising proposals.

The discrepancy of *teyit.org* and *dogrulukpayi.com*'s economic structure and that of the mainstream media is seen as a guarantee that verification proceeds objectively. Arabacı from *teyit.org* gives an example to this subject from mainstream media: A reporter in mainstream media was fired after writing a health article on sparkling mineral water increasing tension without knowing that the owner of the newspaper is the founder of a sparkling mineral water company. According to Arabacı, non-profit structure and independence from advertisement revenue provides them with freedom. Arabacı emphasizes that since they are not in a relationship of mutual interest with companies or political power, they are different and freer from mainstream media journalists, and expresses that they can be impartial because they don't depend on advertisement revenue unlike mainstream media.

As Graves points out (2016: 616), the most important feature of the fact-checking movement in America is its proximity to the non-profit world. As long as the limits of the legitimacy of the fact-checking process are maintained, external economic support for sustainability is welcomed. Two-thirds of the fact-checking services that participated in the Fact Checking Summit in London in 2015 identify themselves as non-profit organizations. The budget of 60 % of the platforms in this summit is based on donors and funders as in the case of *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org*. In the international arena, especially in Eastern Europe, the central focus of fact-checkers is civil society organizations focusing on the development of civil society. In this context, as is in Turkey, fact-checking process in countries such as Serbia, Bosnia, Slovakia, develops in a structure that aims for democratic participation, the public's right to access correct information, and the development of civil society independent from state and economic institutions. Precisely for this reason, as in the case of Turkey, fact-checking service employees' direct connection to journalism is quite low compared to America (Graves, 2016: 621–623).

Teyit.org and *Doğrulukpayi.com* Services' Practices

As mentioned in the previous chapter, fact-checking services are divided into different categories based on their subjects and fields on an international level. In Turkey, *doğrulukpayi.com*, as a platform focusing on political and public discourse, aims to check the correctness of political actors' discourses and

statements, and to share it with the public (Şahinsoy, 2018: 86). The news to be included in the analysis include statements of political actors scanned by the editors. The statements made by political actors to be included in the analysis are obtained from news sites, interviews or videos, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey 's news website or the minutes of the Assembly meetings. From politicians' discourses and claims that have the effect of guiding the voter, the controversial, verifiable or falsifiable parts are selected by the editors and are included in the analysis. Apart from the media scans carried out by the editors, the notices received on social media channels, through e-mail or WhatsApp of *doğrulukpayi.com* are also included in the agenda if they are suitable for data-based evaluation.

The main criteria for *doğrulukpayi.com* are relevance, importance, and catching up with the agenda in real time. Mainly dealing with three different types of content, most of the content in *doğrulukpayi.com* is political fact-checking, where politicians' claims are put through data-based analysis. When choosing these claims; it is evaluated whether or not they are verifiable/falsifiable, relatively controversial, and important. When checking the claims of political actors, there are generally three different criteria. These are: the qualitative and quantitative data shown as the basis of the allegation corresponds to the data in public sources, the quality of the sources where the qualitative and quantitative data are verified/falsified, and the purpose of the claim and the appropriateness of the context. In addition to the statements of political actors, bulletins are compiled, and data-based videos are prepared on the subjects frequently discussed on the agenda.

When evaluating the data, *doğrulukpayi.com* uses a scale called the accuracy scale. The congruence of data and context in the claims are graded on the scale which consists of 5 different grades: true, near, intermediate, distant and false. In the scale where the statements of the politicians are graded out of 10 points, these statements are evaluated through 6 points from data compliance and 4 from context compliance (Emincan Yüksel, İrem Doğanışık). The purpose of the different scoring of data-context congruence is notedly the desire correctly share with followers and the public if the political actor's statement is manipulative. According to Denizcan Sarı from *doğrulukpayi.com*, the content they get the most negative feedback from readers are the content given the grades of distant, intermediate, or close. Sarı emphasizes that readers may have difficulty in understanding the grading, especially in the analysis with lower scores than context compliance, and that they frequently remind the readers of the evaluation criteria given below to overcome this situation:

*Inaccurate: the data used in the claim is entirely false. There are problems in the congruence of purpose-context and contains false information misleading to voters.

*Little degree of accuracy: the data used in the claim and open source data partially align, however there are problems in the quality of source and congruence of purpose-context. The claim contains exaggeration and misleads.

*Partial degree of accuracy: the data used in the claim nearly align with open source data, however source list or purpose-context congruence include remarkable problems. The claim includes exaggerating elements which the voter might misinterpret.

*Remarkable degree of accuracy: the data used in the claim is mostly justified in open source data, however there might be minor errors. The purpose of the claim and data mostly comply. There are no exaggerations or misleads in a degree that could cause problems.

*Accurate: the data used in the claim comply with open source data. The purpose of the claim complies with the data. No element of misleading and exaggeration is present.

Doğrulukpayi.com first begins the fact-checking research process by collecting data from official sources in Turkey and abroad. Official sources such as Eurostat, Turkish Statistical Institute, World Bank, IMF and their reports are the primary sources. In addition, the data of the statistical organizations of the Ministries and the internet pages of these institutions are used as sources. In cases where these primary sources are insufficient, reports published by some non-governmental organizations with proven reliability are used as secondary sources. Editors Yüksel and Doğanışık emphasize that, at some critical points, the opinion of reliable experts is also consulted.

Teyit.org which "aims to facilitate internet users' access to true information by doing verifications in many fields from common mistakes, trending suspect social media information, allegations brought up in the media to urban legends" (https://teyit. org/). According to the separation made by Brandtzaeg and Asbjørn Følstad (2017: 65), political fact-checking platforms are different than platforms such as *teyit.org* which focus on online rumors, hoaxes, and investigate the accuracy of such news and stories. *Teyit.org* examines user generated content or news produced by media organizations, and provides verification services in this context (Şahinsoy, 2018). The data which is verified by *teyit. org* is accessed in two ways. First, the team identifies suspicious content on a regular basis by browsing the internet every day. Apart from the editorial filter,

users directly notice them of suspicious content from social media sources such as Facebook, Twitter or Instagram from the *teyit.org* line. Ali Osman Arabacı, who stated that they receive about 15–20 notices[8] per day, explains that some of these notices can also come from places they do not see or know. Stating that they regularly scan the visual and written media every day, Arabacı states that they can sometimes overlook certain content but that users reach them, and they are taken into consideration. On the other hand, it is an important criterion to determine whether the content is viral or important, whether it has social connotations, whether there is a debate or suspicion around the content in the public and whether the content affects a group of people. In this context, *teyit.org* is concerned with the content of news or stories that go viral online, which are controversial among the public, and which also have an impact on a group of people. Once the data to be verified is decided according to the basis of these criteria, at least two proofs are to be provided as methodology in the verification process. The study is carried out primarily on the subject and certain results are reached as a result of the evaluation. Lacking points can be consulted by experts. Gülin Çavuş emphasizes that although an expert's statement cannot be primary evidence for them, it is sought in some cases. Çavuş states that the fact that the experts also draw from different sources may create a problem in terms of providing impartiality for themselves and underlines that they benefit from expert opinion as an additional source of information in the verification process. In this context, *teyit.org* does not rely solely on expert opinion in any of its articles or analyzes. Emphasizing that this point is important in ensuring impartiality, Çavuş states that they benefit more from academic and scientific publications during the verification of the data.

After verifiable data is analyzed at *teyit.org*, all evidence is included in the analysis. This application makes it easy for the reader to access the data that indicates whether the information is correct or not, and also allows the users to follow the verification process throughout the article and detect deficiencies and errors. In cases where the evidence in the written analysis is found to be inaccurate, the sources are not reliable or the evidence is not verified, the analysis is not published.

Based on the obtained data, the claim is concluded in one of four different categories: **true**, **false**, **ambiguous** and **mixed**. **True**: data is obtained that the examined claim is correct, **False**: data is obtained that the examined claim is incorrect,

8 Arabacı says that they receive around 150–200 notices a day during election periods.

Mixed: the claim includes both true and false (or both true and uncertain, both wrong and uncertain) information. **The uncertain** category indicates that data on the alleged claim is obtained; however, said data is not sufficient to reach a conclusion that the claim is true, false or mixed.

In *teyit.org*'s last stage of impact monitoring, after the analysis is published and delivered to the users via social media channels, social media accounts and news sites that disseminate false information are regularly checked. It is determined if the wrong information is corrected and removed during these checks, acknowledgment is announced on the Twitter account under the headline of confirmation follow-up.

Timespan in the production practices of platforms varies according to the type, subject, and clarity of the evidence. Verification analysis at *teyit.org* can sometimes take several days while others take several hours, depending on the content of the claim. Ali Osman Arabacı, who emphasizes that sometimes there are content that cannot be included in the analysis because they have been struggling for weeks and cannot obtain any data at the end, expresses that it is profuse work to scan the data obtained from different sources while checking the analysis. Arabacı underlines that they do not have to worry about catching up to social media platforms' speed in this regard, and that they have to design the verification process independently of it. Gülin Çavuş states that they try to reach the information in many different ways when sufficient information is not available for verification because of the obligation to re-check the data. According to the editor-in-chief Gülin Çavuş, who underlines that there are no speed concerns like Arabacı, it is not the speed but the ability to find and prevent the wrong information that is of significance. Stating that their work is not publishing, Arabacı also states that they try to publish at least one or two analyzes per day.

Doğrulukpayi.com platform has a similar point of view to *teyit.org* on the subject that fact-checking process should be conducted independently of timing. *Doğrulukpayi.com* proprietor Batuhan Ersun expresses that they conduct their work without rushing or the need for clicks and reads, that the process is not speed-oriented, but focuses on the concern to convey the necessary information fully (Şahinsoy, 2018: 88–89). According to the editor Denizcan Sarı, the verification of the news depends on the content of the claims and the availability of open sources for the claims. According to İrem Doğanışık and Emincan Yüksel, it might take a day or two to complete the analysis in the context of some broad claims made by political actors, whereas verification may take less time if they can use the data and resources contained in the original content. The platform

publishes at least one bulletin and analysis daily[9], micro infographics via social media channels, short videos titled "DP 60 seconds" weekly on their YouTube channel, and data-based documentaries every 14 days.

Despite some tendencies of the expanding world-wide fact-checking movement towards professionalization, Graves emphasizes that this professionalization is not an affinity, and shows the differences in the production practices of fact-checking platforms as one of the important signs of this. Considering the process of evaluating the data and the methods followed by *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org*, this difference becomes apparent. For example, three pioneering fact-checking services in the United States attempt to contact the alleged author to ensure impartiality and integrity. This perspective differs globally in terms of fact-checking. Accordingly, some practitioners see the claimant's interpretation as opening the door to subjectivity, while others oppose it because they think it will have a legitimizing effect on political interventions. Similarly, how long the verification process takes varies between fact-checking services. In the case of America and Africa, fact checkers receive an average of 1000 words from experts with completely opposite perspectives before reaching a conclusion, and these statements from experts are shared with readers/recipients during the verification process. While there are fact-checking services that consider this method as more reliable, some platforms prefer short and concise explanations rather than explanations based on lengthy expert opinions (Graves, 2016: 624–625). The employees of *teyit.org* and *doğrulukpayi.com* in Turkey consult expert opinion in the verification process in case of deficient resources in the assessment of the data as previously stated. Reliable written sources and reports published by reliable institutions are a priority in the analysis of data for both platforms in Turkey, and consult experts when there are deficiencies. This difference of fact-checking in Turkey is thought to be directly linked to concerns about the reliability and trustworthiness of the experts. Indeed, as highlighted above, Gülin Çavuş explains the reason why they use the expert opinion only as an additional information with a concern that the experts may be biased because they might appeal from different sources.

As for Graves (2016: 626), a kind of accuracy scale to be used in the evaluation of the data, as in *doğrulukpayi.com*, is a common practice among fact-checking services. 80 % of active fact-checkers worldwide use some form of an accuracy scale, albeit in different ways. However, there is no consensus on this

9 It is indicated that the published analysis count rises on the days when the assembly is open.

issue. Some fact-checkers consider the use of such measures to evaluate data as unscientific, and think that because of the use of scales, information is evaluated in an excessively reductive manner. There are also platforms that use various accuracy scales in the first years but abandon this application later on. A group of fact-checking services, on the other hand, thinks that such scales are related to journalistic practices in controlling accuracy, and sees the practice as useful.

Finally, both fact-checking platforms refrain from identifying news or information that they check as a "lie". For *teyit.org*, this attitude mainly stems from the desire to avoid polarization. According to Gülin Çavuş, there may be data in different academic sources that vary according to different perspectives. In this context, when someone is called a liar, it is highly likely that the person will further cling to their beliefs. The concept of lying can cause an aggressive attitude because it is also an area associated with emotions. Stating that they prefer to use the word fake as *teyit.org*, Çavuş also thinks that it is not right to use the word lie because they do not know who produces false content with what motivations. There are those who deliberately produce false content as well as those who produce this kind of content because they themselves were misled on an issue. The reason behind *teyit.org*'s attitude is also related to political and epistemological perspectives on knowledge. In the interviews conducted within the scope of this study, Çavuş's answer to the question "do you have a desire to protect yourself legally that influences your deliberate choice of not using the word lie?" is important in terms of reflecting the platform's perspective on knowledge. According to Çavuş, the multi-layered structure of false knowledge requires an understanding of the functioning and parts of the complex world in which it is produced. In this context, *teyit.org* does not prefer expression of "lie" because it considers it incomplete and troublesome in understanding the complex relationship between the types of information and the way the world works.

Doğurulukpayi.com does not include claims that are not suitable for examination through open data sources. Stating that the data-based platform does not qualify a claim as a lie or fake, Denizcan Sarı emphasizes that they use a scientific methodology and do not make a judgment in the end. Stating that the data-context congruence of the claim is examined, Sarı says that the word lie is not used because it contains a direct accusation and causes an unscientific evaluation.

Conclusion

In today's societies where personal emotions and beliefs are favored over rational facts, where true/false/incomplete information circulates quickly, the issue of how

readers can evaluate the correctness of the information to which they are subjected comes gains significance. Increasing visibility of fake news, which are created with the purposes of profit in economic or political field, or just for humor, brings about a new search of resolutions for combatting them. Fact-checking/news verification platforms which increasingly multiply in many countries, institutionally dating back to the early 2000's in the United States of America are recently established tools in the fight against fake news. Fact-checking services constitute a growing movement in the fight against fake news/false information and differ in their purposes and practices according to social, political, economic, cultural conditions and media systems in their countries of origin.

In the fight against false/fake news in Turkey, the growing practices and domain of *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org* platforms, which started and quickly established after 2010, draw attention. The events from Turkey's recent social and political agenda started a discussion in the public sphere of the mainstream media's inability to perform their duty to correctly inform the public opinion. It is observed that this public debate drove the organizations to defend and provide the public's right to accurate news. The interviews with the editors and reporters from both organizations in the scope of the study show that the interviewees agree that the political field in Turkey and also the mainstream media, visual and print press, are more and more polarized as an extension of the polarized environment in the public sphere, and that they cannot fulfill their function of accurately and objectively inform the public. *Doğrulukpayi.com*, which focuses on and analyzes the accuracy of political actors' discourses and statements and shares them with the public, is a platform that can be included in the international field of political fact-checking. Whereas *teyit.org* is different than political fact-checking services because it researches and checks the accuracy of written/visual news and material that are user-generated or on social media. In this regard, *teyit.org* acts as a verification service.

Both platforms from Turkey are non-profit online structures that are born out of rights-based civil activism institutions similarly to those in Egypt and India, Serbia, Slovakia, under the influence of the pioneering practices in America. Moreover, similarly to other fact-checking platforms born out of NGO based institutions in the world, *doğrulukpayi.com* and *teyit.org* are not directly linked to journalism or journalists. Employees of both platforms are gathered from different fields of social sciences and they underline the interdisciplinary nature of their work. They don't want to refer to the journalistic process of verifying news utilized in other fact-checking/verification platforms in the international field. Interviewees in both platforms define their point of separation from journalism with the fact that the fact-checking/verification process is carried out

independently of economic and political interests, without preoccupations of reader reception or an urgency to publish before a deadline.

Lies or false information that go with or trigger social, political, economic transformation and crises that took place in Turkey, in parallel to the crises in the world, fueled the increasing discussions about their fast circulation via digital technology, and their part in disrupting the tissue of the public sphere in democratic societies. Public sphere, modern societies' space for critical thinking, is a space where citizens work to solve their common issues through equal and free participation. For this very reason, the extent and limitations that exist in the public sphere define citizens' right to access opinion, expression and information, and contribution to the discussion (Özbek, 2004). *Teyit.org* and *doğrulukpayi.com*, prominent platforms in the fight against false/fake information and news, primarily aim to expand the space for critical thinking for the public in Turkey. *Teyit.org* and *doğrulukpayi.com*'s desire to cause an effect in the public sphere, stated in their production process, can be explained by these fact-checking services' roots in civil activism. Both platforms were founded by NGO-based organizations and care about a critical perspective in the production and circulation of information. Moreover, they are both interested in their work's visibility and impact in the public sphere as much as its production.

In all intents and purposes, the debate on the legitimacy of increasingly globalizing fact-checking platforms, and the doubts around their limitations, transparency and objectivity, would be better guided through further research on these platforms' impact on the public sphere. As Gülin Çavuş also explained, it is important to analyze how users conceive of the process of fact-checking and how they approach the content created by fact-checking services. It is a significant question if, users who are subjected to the false information and then encounter the fact-checked version perceive of this as a problem relating to a singular information, or as part of a larger structural flaw. As they were not within the scope and limitations of this study, further research on the field of fact-checking especially in Turkey is advised to focus on the services and practices of fact-checking platforms' effects and visibility. It is contemplated that user-centered research will be significant for presenting the effects of fact-checking platforms in Turkey.

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Mesut Yücebaş

Between Craftsmanship and Journalism: Survival of Local Press in Turkey's Province

Introduction

At first glance, there seems to be no link between journalism and craftsmanship. Journalism is a relatively new profession. Craftsmanship, on the other hand, involves working on the basis of hand-workmanship, but it corresponds to a social occupational identity level. It can be argued that there is a sharp contrast between these two ways of working – the professional and the traditional. However, the argument of the study hereby is that the ways of working as craftsmanship significantly affect professional work codes, especially at the local level. Based on the example presented here, it seems possible to include the fact that the journalist and the boss are not separated, that the subtle qualities of the research have been obtained through a years-long experience, and that the occupation and private life are not separated, among these effects.

Journalism is undoubtedly a relatively new profession compared to the long history of craftsmanship. Moreover, it has a type of work (job) that contrasts with the traditional content of craftsmanship. Today, journalism profession is a modern form of work that is divided into professional segments, includes routine contents and requires specialization. On the other hand, the newspaper, which is the final product of the work, has also been standardized. In addition, the functioning of the work in the media organization is shaped by the socialization and relationalization practices that are pointed out by the context of that work. It is also an area that imposes itself on journalists through the challenges and mutual controls, in which journalists, as well as political and economic contexts, use their influences on each other, and where respect is the basis for gaining fame with professional dignity (Bourdieu, 2000: 80). In other words, the journalism profession is an area that is bracketed or framed by the political and economic field, but it is also shaped by those in it. While at local levels, it is necessary to include local interactions in this field in a multidimensional way. At these levels, journalism has a quality that is embedded in local artisans' practices more than any other place, that has to establish its ground on them, and when it looks back, it cannot see any other know-how than this on how the work

will take place. Although the journalism profession is defined with professional codes in the context of white-collar works, it is seen that these professional codes and practices work in coordination with local artisanal experiences in local level practices. At least the claim of this study is in this direction. Within the scope of the study, this claim is investigated through a concrete investigation and the possibilities and limits that possible determinations will say about the daily functioning of the journalistic profession are specified.

However, before attempting this, we need to discuss what craftsmanship is, what it produces, where we should place it in modern and postmodern socialization practices, and then listen to the voice produced by the local plane for the journalistic profession. In line with this theme, the study first views the social representation of craftsmen from a historical view, and then offers interviews with journalists working in the city of Gaziantep, which is preferred because it is one of the cities that defines itself with a craftsman past and its evaluation in the problematic context. While doing these, the study is based on the argument that the positioning of craftsmanship as a nostalgic image generally functions as a support of a romantic and conservative production in current politics, it is frozen in time with this imagination and thus it is not possible to place it in any other context in current politics.

What Is Craftsmanship? Production of the Craftsman

Craftsmanship refers to the way of working by passing through a certain education, which also defines the character through a socialized profession, in other words, where work and identity are in integrity. Artisanal production is a stage in which the skill of the craftsman is not yet fragmented, where the labor process is followed, designed and managed by himself (Tezgel, 2013: 102). However, in order for the emergence of labor to take place, a new type of class that has labor must also emerge. For this reason, Gorz (2007: 31), states that the craftsman labors rather than working. According to Sennett (2009: 20) craftsmanship refers to the constant, basic human urge – the desire to do a task well for his own good. Craftsmanship refers to a traditional bond that is established with work and cannot withstand the distinctions between identity and work, workspace and private space, work time and leisure time. Here, craft is embedded in space; space and object are personalized (Ender, 2017). Sennett points out that that craft – a traditional skill as way to establish a relation with work – is a social process: 'In the traditional 'skill societies', social norms are more valuable than individual features. One's development of his skills is based on the rules created by previous generations; more modern words such as personal 'mastery' does not

make much sense in this context. Being skilled required being personally well-trained' (Sennett, 2009: 35). This training also corresponds to a socialization practice. Craftsmanship has a link between craft and belonging to a community.

In Ancient Greece, special importance was attributed to craftsmen. Mythological god Hephaestus is a blacksmith master. In Aristotle, however, there is a distinction between those engaged in handcrafts as an experience and their masters as a designer. Aristotle states that having experience can be seen as more successful than those with logic (logos). 'While experienced people know what is going on but don't know from what it resulted, the latter knows it's reason and why it resulted. That is why we consider masters more valuable, more knowledgeable and wiser than journeymen; after all they know the reasons for what they do' (Aristotle, 981a12). Therefore, although universal knowledge is related to experience, the person who provides insights and knows the reasons is the artist or master. The important thing here is that what is seen as the source of information is immanent in the universality and is attributed to the artist as a designer rather than those performing the handicraft. Plato, on the other hand, establishes a relationship between artisanal skill and *poetry* – even though it has lost his visibility in his age – so artisans are actually a variant of poets (Sennett, 2009: 32).

In the Middle Ages, especially in the West, the influence of religion also has a contradictory effect on craftsmanship. According to Sennett (2009: 77) the early Christianity included the reputation of the craftsman in his origin, since Jesus was a carpenter. However, the Christian seclusion principle contrasted this. This principle was based on the belief that the more a person avoids being obsessed with material things, the more he will be deprived of discovering an eternal inner life that is not man-made (Sennett, 2009: 79). On the other hand, it is seen that the act of work itself was envisioned as a punishment and curse in this tradition. 'The Christian church saw work as a redemption activity, where hard work was a search for a way to purify sin' (Budd, 2016: 52). Protestant mortality would also have a special emphasis on this. The association of work with torment and suffering also manifested itself in the value of tools and machines that referred to work and craftsmanship. Eco (2016: 387) emphasizes that the machines operating in this period did not receive special attention aesthetically, but were depicted only in the construction of an admirable structure in medieval art. Perhaps in parallel with this disrepute, Bookchin (2014: 287) emphasizes that craftsmen who have developed their skills and intelligence were the first ones to challenge church doctrines.

On the other hand, artisans were organized as guilds in the Middle Ages. These were institutions that combined moral norms and professional codes in

coordination with religious rituals. According to Castel (2017: 126) the corporatist language, which dominates the guilds, manages to participate in what can be called social citizenship – to occupy a place within the system of hierarchical internal dependencies that make up the community order. Therefore, guilds organized social authority through their hierarchical structure. 'The medieval workshops had a distinctive feature in terms of the authority attributed to trainers and the provisions of this progress. The master's judgment meant the final word and no objection was accepted (Sennett, 2009: 82). In addition, these institutions were built with extremely strict rules. We can say that, as artisans and tradesmen organizations, akhism, which has been visible in Anatolia from the 13th century, corresponds to a similar form of organization. It is possible to mention that they had a political power and created an autonomy against the palace as well as establishing social order in the cities (Arı, 2008: 44). 'In the Akhism organization, tradesmen and artisans were trained according to the hierarchy of the workplace as an assistant, apprentice, journeyman and master, and in the evenings, a moral and decent training was held in the Ahi guest hospitality and meeting places' (Bayram, 2012: 86). Such institutions were under strict control by the state in the Ottoman Empire. According to Mardin, one of the strategies used by the Ottoman statesmen in the field of control in the economy was that if a guild member became very rich, he had to leave the artisan group and become a merchant (1991: 199).

Guilds were also instrumental in artisans opening a sheltered area in the city. The guild had two goals: To provide the monopoly of working in the city and to prevent competition among its members (Castel, 2017: 111). Guilds also became a serious mechanism of political resistance in Europe in their marketing processes. 'The medieval London and Paris guilds increased their defence actions, especially in the face of the growth of northern European trade. To protect themselves from this threat, the guilds started to apply punitive customs tariffs at the gates of the cities and tightly control the fairs in the city' (Sennett, 2009: 83). The guilds were also the bearers of the principles of honesty, moral standards, and a master-intense authority. Along with the Renaissance, the understanding of the master, which added a personal style to his product, began to emerge. A new type of master who is independent of the guild and requires attention as the owner of the product. 'In the material culture of the Renaissance, referring the name of the manufacturer has become increasingly important due to the sale of a wide variety of goods, including the most ordinary ones' (Sennett, 2009: 94). In the age of Enlightenment, craftsmanship was seen as the means of an individual realization and an admirable production. According to Sennett (2009: 14), Enlightenment could both bless and realize the craftsman. However, the social

conditions of the craftsman were disappearing to a significant extent. In the 18th century England, the concepts related to crafts were used with other contents. While ‘Master’ was used in the same sense as the employer, ‘Journeyman’ had been used to describe the skilled worker; trade meant the profession of the worker trained among trade workers (Hobsbawm, 2015: 130). In fact, this new language started to prevail in the guilds. In this context, they were also pioneers of the unions (Hobsbawm, 2015: 130).

In the 19th century, the place of the machines in the labor relations of the craftsmanship began to blur. ‘From the nineteenth century, as the modern economic system took shape, hopes of enlightenment that artisans could find an honorable place in the industrial order began to fade away’ (Sennett, 2009: 143). However, craftsmen and artisans who turned into petty bourgeois were still visible in Europe. Small suppliers and manufacturers were still important to the bourgeoisie. Their relationship with the bourgeoisie included the clashes created by the dependency relations of the real economy, as well as common points such as independence (Haupt, 2015: 300–303). In this context, craftsmanship and independent shopkeeping or intermediation in the pre-industrial era are rather parts of the emergence of modern industrial society rather than an archaic element. According to Castel (2017: 119), it forms part of a division of labor that capitalism needs. ‘In the 19th century, for example, the brewer, baker and candlestick manufacturer were largely protected from competition in local markets due to the high transportation costs. Local monopoly forces dominated all areas from energy to food supply (Harvey, 2013: 149). On the other hand, it is necessary to add the consumerism of the global economy today towards boutique productions with distinctions (Doğan, 2012). The discussion can be continued with the new location of the place. Spatial transformations can include individual stops as well as the content that globalizing capital presents in Ritzer’s (2012) spatial analysis. In this sense, Morley and Robins (1997: 55) speak of an increasingly direct relationship between the local and global spheres. The craftsman’s space also points to these singularities and localities.

In the romantic reaction, it was possible to see the traces of the artisan hesitation over the machines. A social acculturation against the machine (Williams, 2017: 114–115) this romantic imagination, which has determined our age significantly, determines the oppositions established around the concepts of machine, work and craft. The anxiety and fear of the machine, the simulations created by the era of substances, the delusions of flexibility and falsehood, and a search for self-soul, stability and naturalness located in the confusion of this... This dichotomy is also an obstacle to making artisanal activity understandable. Craftsmanship is mostly understood today as a human activity that modern

times have devastated. However, craftsmanship may not necessarily correspond to stability, rigor and essential sensitivity, or the machine age may include them, or they may be induced those who are opposed to this. Indeed, it seems possible to talk about naturality only in modern times. Therefore, in this study, craftsmanship is not perceived as a human activity in the past, but as a product of a relationship established with the past. As a sought and expected imagination, craftsmanship is actually a nostalgic sign in which the losses of today are filled. This makes it difficult to understand that it is a historical process, its real size in the present and where it is supposed to be or the economical political formations and dynamics of the new age and the forms it takes.

What is left to us from the experience of craftsmanship that has been scratched, teased out, beaten, weaknesses[1]discovered, sorted and smashed which could still have signs today? However, here, it is important to underline some of the issues related to craftsmanship. The important fault is that we understand that craftsmanship is a process in which modern industrial capitalism completely disappears (or about to disappear). On the other hand, artisanal production seems to be reintroduced into the industry, service and IT sectors with a post-fordist flexible working approach. In fact, as we have tried to explain before, craftsmanship did not eternally die or disappear with modern capitalism, it continued its existence in new contexts by being added to new forms by staying inside the industry or outside of big capital. In fact, it became one of the most influential actors in reaching the business, working and cultural patterns of modern capitalism. The historical codes of ability, talent and skill make us feel their effects in new forms of social production. But it showed all the dualities of owning a shop and small capital. It became a significant indicator of conservatism through keeping it alive as a tradition from the past during Turkey's socialization practices and with a path created by the concerns of proletarisation due to having something to lose: Bread & butter. For Turkey in particular, it continues to exist as an important cultural code that affects working practices. In short, craftsmanship has not been lost in modern times with new political codes and understanding of production. So, it did not wait to die; however, the idea of waiting to die became a sign and continuity of its life. Especially it

1 We should underline a point. This does not correspond to the root-stalker understanding that change can be achieved by remaining artisanal in the current state of the media system. Subject that is subject to rootstalk can only be based on this, the practices of being able to bear dedicate meaning to the outsider, but it cannot be a potential for change. It can give the sign of change only when it loses.

maintained its presence as a code regulating domestic relations work in Turkey. Craftsmanship is also a means to transfer the non-conflict bases of the work into modern working relationships.

Today, craftsmanship is either understood as a form of dead work or has been respected as a merit that must be revitalized and added to new forms of work. During this process, the conservative nature of the reputation for it was not recognized, and the bio-power it had in it was also ignored. It is necessary to be careful in transferring it to the forms of production; it should be emphasized that craftsmanship's socialization is shaped by conservatism, they may be bio-power channels, but they can also be the carrier of contradictory personalities in conflict with capitalist modernization. It should also be underlined that it constantly invented its tradition in modern life, changed, that it did not show a pure and natural manifestation for the production of man, that his revival corresponds to a myth, and that the incentive to work with this motive must result in romance. Therefore, accepting craftsmanship as a current state and expressing that it is living with its course, problems, hopes and congestion by taking part in this up-to-dateness – i.e. including it in the game as it is – seems to be important for making its role in the game understandable. What are the skills of this player? However, these skills can also be a source of weakness. To understand them, it is necessary to focus on a few distinctive features.

Holding-Grasping

Grasping corresponds to self-adjustment to the object. Holding is a preparation made before the act takes place. Grasping is the knowledge of how the action will occur before it happens. When we say that I have understood something that is not understood in the past, we point out how we will give a look at it when we come across again. The first relation established between the object and the craftsman is through hands. The object is hold; grasped and an action is taken according to the response it will give. According to Canetti (2012: 215), the real size of the hand lies in patience, and it is the calm and slow movement of the hand that has created this world we want to live in. The craftsman's hand corresponds to such hand.

On the other hand, the merit at hand is not inherited. Actual follow-up, experiment and practice persistence corresponds to artisanal learning. However, the first step to achieve this is to show it. In fact, learning by watching is primary in craftsmanship. The master shows and the apprentice must constantly observe to learn. The experiment comes after observation, but it is also a routine. The development of success and merit is shaped by revolving around the error and

reaching the right thing. Of course, it is necessary to include the Master's authoritarian hand between this experiment and success. However, after this routine, the artisanal work extends to the new. Learning and finding a solution takes place against turmoil. 'The artisan does more than just encounter turmoil; it creates such a thing itself as a tool to grasp the work processes' (Sennett, 2009: 212). Just staying in the right style and following the guideline or curiously getting stuck in the error's uncertainty will not improve the ability.

Cooperation

Collaboration in craftsmanship is distinct from a simple assembly of fragmented jobs. It has a different content from team plays and teamwork project centered production of flexible working terminology. The line specified by Sennett is an example of how the hands work. Strengthening a hand against a strong hand is not meaningful alone. The strong hand must re-adjust its strength to allow the skill to develop. The development of this skill also requires that both hands work in coordination from the start (Sennett, 2009: 216–217). This involves adjustment to each other rather than balancing the power of different ones. It is not harmony or congruity; it's not a union but corresponds to adjustment and balancing to each other. This adjustment work may require a long union. Therefore, it also has the potential to turn into a fraternity community where closeness and power relations become evident. In the development of this adjustment and balancing skill, other types of behavior are also activated. Sennett (2012: 260) identifies three artisanal ways of developing social relationships: ritual, gestures and minimal strength. The ritual includes the visualization of the routine by transforming it into an aesthetic and the practitioner's ability to make his own action worth watching. Mutual gestures are seductive messages for mutual balancing. All these processes develop with a set minimum force application. However, these merits continue to live, not with the ambition of being a strong commercial actor in the new job market, but with the knowledge of being on the verge of disappearance. For this reason, the craftsman today is on the verge.

It can be said that being on the verge is an important indicator of sociality. 'Ethnic and cultural groups that are despised or pushed out of society play an important role in legends and folk tales as representatives or expressions of universal-human values' (Turner, 2017:181). Turner also shows monks and sacred beggars in major religions as the institutionalized state of being on the verge. The Beat Generation also built *Communitas* with sacred features as the state of being on the verge (Turner, 2017: 180, 182). We often encounter this in the practices of communalization of populist politics. In popular TV series and

movies, a person who is forgotten about and engaged in a poor or ordinary job is the creator of social phenomena.

Rhythmic Routine and Play

We want it to have a meaning because we work. The reason why the work turns into a problem is the disappearance of this meaning. Undoubtedly, the meaning of work will differ at individual levels. Botton still does a generalization:

> What is a meaningful work? What we want when we wish our work to be meaningful is nothing more than the chance to increase the happiness of others, to feel that we are able to contribute to the world's knowledge, efficiency, health, wisdom or beauty treasure, no matter how limited, and this quest is an innate and not easily destroyed part of our structure, in addition to the more well-known and widely defined impulses to gain wealth and status (Botton, 2011: 80).

We think that one of the important reasons for meaninglessness towards work is the routine of work. In the transformation towards flexible work and post-fordism, bureaucratization of the work, excessive rationalization as an iron cage, strict division of labor and general understanding of welfare began to be abandoned (Bauman, 1999; Harvey, 2014; Sennett, 2002). Routine is an undesirable way of working. In fact, nostalgic craftsmanship is defined as a correspondence to escape from this routine in today's craftsmanship aesthetics. The source of the boutique production should be searched here. Whereas in an artisanal job, the routine is at the heart. 'If someone does the same things over and over again, it may cause them to lose their mind; we can attribute the same meaning to routine and boringness. For people who develop complex and fine hand skills, this is not the case at all. Doing something over and over again is encouraging when it is edited by foreseeing the future' (Sennett, 2009: 230). This is also the rhythm. Rhythmic sounds have an important place in craftsmanship. However, people don't get lost in working in artisanal practices. It is life itself. That's why, working is interrupted often. Playing, routine and laziness find themselves a place in artisanal works.

According to Lafargue (2014: 10) working in capitalist society is the cause of organic deformation of any intellectual degeneration. Therefore, laziness should be seen as one of the fundamental rights of humanity. In this state of laziness and village-like boredom, an acting-like professional activity takes place. As a matter of fact, playing games lies at the basis of not only leisure activities but also more serious and heavy work (Berman, 2016: 76). Playing games has a specific place among the crafting qualities of the work. Playing game and laziness have enabled new types of experiments, connections and analysis. However, in order to meet

this, encounters that occur in laziness are needed. So artisanal production is also a business of *environment*. 'As a form of social organization, the environment meets a number of criteria that overlap with recent social developments. The environment provides a comfortable space in the world, where individuality and originality are highly exalted, both in leisure time and in the workplace' (Gielen, 2014: 213). However, the craftsman's environment also corresponds to a level where controlled social relations are becoming widespread. The sincere relationships here also lead to the acquisition of the same experiences of unification. Social cohesion has become more important than the difference. However, there is an artisanal expectation in defining the environment in modern conditions. This sincere and expectation of being as you seem provides for establishing of various rituals and patterns of behavior in the struggle with uncertainties in the public sphere. The environment has now turned into a public space. No sign of sincerity may be sincere. The social scene is active here; it is a public show shaped by performances (see Goffman, 2014). The quest for sincerity is an impossible quest, and artisanal sincerity is just a demonstration of its impossibility. Especially in shaping the public sphere in Turkey, not the intricacies of kindness against uncertainty, but the call for sincerity (be yourself) is dominant. Turkey's public space has been established through the relationships of craftsmen and artisans and the spread of the language. However, the realization of uncertainty and unexpected is shocking at this level. Here, it is read as an attack on identity and existence, and the response is strongly given.

Local Journalism and Craftsmanship

It is not possible to define the journalism profession as an artisanal work. Journalism differs from being an artisan profession since the day it emerged as an idea-based business form and later with the professional occupation codes it gained. However, this may prevent us from seeing that artisanal assumptions may be functioning in its practical and everyday practice. Impartiality, objectivity, division of work into departments, specialization and working relations with capitalist market dynamics are evidences that the profession is based on professional codes and modern professional practices. However, excluding the artisanal practices from the practice of the profession, which narrow or stretch these codes and practices, and are especially visible in local planes, has a nature that prevents making contemporary journalism understandable. These codes, on the other hand, impose the acceptance of the profession as identity, preventing congregational relations from professional job identification and solidarity networks, the weight of habit and routine, and respect for hierarchy and

authority to the practice of the profession. In today's journalism, it will not be an exaggerated claim to say that these dynamics are experienced especially at local levels. On the other hand, today, strategies to deal with economic and political pressures or negotiations with them are carried out by artisanal methods. These make the relations of power at the micro level visible, not the affirmation of this form of profession.

Although local media is included in the socio-economic and cultural habitus created by the national and global media market, it seems to constitute some kind of autonomy. This autonomy lies in the fact that they were established with a demand for independence, as in the artisanal representation of the business. Most of them appear as family businesses or small enterprises. They also have the ability to assume a derivative of artisanal activity. For most of them, working stations – spaces – are not designed for work only as in small and middle-scale businesses. An office or a flat can function as a local newspaper. Although they emulate these kinds of professional market media organizations, it is still possible to come across with media organizations that have not reached to this extent outside of Turkey's central cities. In this sense, Gaziantep is one of the cities that stand out with its quantitative and historical tradition, of course with the contradictions created by new economic forms[2]. These cities (at least Gaziantep) don't represent the serenity of the suburbs or the lack of locality against the center but are cities that have intricate relations with the center that is similar to them and where industry, trade and economy create new fields. They are split with new class divisions; however, they own a true concept of being from Anatolia and Turkishness. Gaziantep is one of the cities that are seeking to grow locally and nationally and on the other hand globally. It is also a city in which artisanal production is about to disappear on such a ground, which is called back to the stage in terms of image and brand value. Therefore, we can also trace the contradictions that craftsmanship experiences with new contexts.

The social importance and function of the local media, which are outside the scope of our study, are discussed in different contexts. For example, 'Local media raises public awareness about local government and, if necessary, criticizes and controls local government on behalf of the public. In this regard, the local media acts as an intermediary institution between the local people and the local government. In addition, local newspapers can attract the attention of local administrators and convey the opinions of the public to the administrators by

2 A comprehensive review of Gaziantep was made in the study titled 'Ta Ezelden Taşkındır Gaziantep' compiled by Gültekin (2011).

transferring information and various news and comments' (Temel, Korkmaz vd., 2012: 129). For this reason, local media is actually a central part of journalistic practice. The functions of local newspapers to inform and create local alternative agendas in order to supervise local governments and decentralization units and to ensure the discussion of regional problems and local demands in public should be taken into consideration (Karaduman, 2017: 287). However, it does not seem quite possible to say that these meanings attributed to local media has gained visibility in Turkey, due to socio-economic, political and cultural reasons.

The city of Gaziantep also has local press organizations, which are almost all of the same scale, but can actively adapt to the journalism profession to a certain extent. It is even possible to say that this number is more than the surrounding cities. There are 14 newspapers that fulfill the requirements of the Press Ad Agency (BİK, 2019). This number is approaching 30 with others. It is possible to say that the city, which claims to be a brand with its tourism and industry, also has many class, social, cultural and economic contradictions. However, the media of the city has difficulty in preparing the city to face them due to economic and political reasons and some cultural pre-acceptance. However, in the context of our study, it seems possible to see some basic features of artisanal production in the newspapers in this city.

Method and Scope

In this research, face-to-face interviews were held with newspaper owners and employees in the leading newspapers of Gaziantep. Preferred press institutions are those that have been broadcasting in Gaziantep for many years or supported by local initiatives. Local entrepreneurship capital of two (Location 1 and 4) of the six institutions where interviews are held is relatively high. Other organizations are family organizations with small offices. A total of 11 journalists were interviewed in these organizations. 7 of the journalists participating in the interviews both work at the office at executive level and as journalists. During the interviews, since the journalists working in the newspaper – defined as the Location 5 – were on duty, we could only interview with the journalist working at the executive level. The interviews focused on the difficulties faced by journalism during practice, and their understanding of work and forms of working. In this way, we tried to understand how and in what direction the elements of craftsmanship have been shaped in line with the links based on the above. However, the environment or scene – that is, the places where the interviews are held – are framed with images that will give an idea in line with the context of the study.

Location and People 1

The first place to be interviewed is the media institution owned by İ. Ç. also works here. During the interview, TRT channel is open on the wall-mounted TV with a big screen. Furnishings are classy. It is a multi-storey building with the top floor being also the home of the media owner. They manage the media with his spouse. The reporter interviewed here is Ç. – a 5year journalist. He has been working in this organization for two years. He previously worked as a *freelance* journalist. He has had relationships with many foreign and national journalists. He has worked at every stage of the profession. He says that he is doing this job mostly for his emotional satisfaction. In today's conditions, he does not want to continue his profession any more. He thinks that should be in everyone's unity and solidarity in Turkey. Media owner İ. is the head of an important community. He has well-established relationship with the important names of the city. His institution also has television and radio departments and publishes two newspapers.

Location and People 2

The media institution owned by B. is located in a commercial building. B. is an industrial engineer; he later decided to continue journalism, which was his father's profession. They also own a printing house and print other newspapers, as well. S. also works here. She has been publishing the newspaper since 2001. The newspaper has been published since 1972. S. also switched to journalism from a different profession. She is/was one of the few female journalists in Gaziantep when she first started in 2001 and also today.

Location and People 3

The media institution owned by Ö. is also located in a commercial building. NTV channel is on. It is decorated with older furniture compared to others. His daughter L. also works in the newspaper. His nephew was also in the newspaper when the interview was held. Ö. is a journalist of 41 years. He is a self-taught journalist; he is a primary school graduate. He has been publishing his own newspaper for 25 years. The newspaper's circulation has fallen to 1500. He is one of the oldest journalists in Gaziantep. He dresses well like the other newspaper owners. But he prefers a more classical style. He says that he really enjoys his job. He claims that you cannot be a journalist without loving it. He says that he is limited in economy; he is the son of an artisan. When her daughter L. could not win the university, she turned to her father's profession and worked as a journalist in

many different branches. A self-taught female journalist who also served news on the national media.

Location and People 4

The newspaper owned by Ş. is also located in a self-contained building. It has 3 floors. The first floor of the newspaper is divided into small offices, which can be seen from the outside. He is graduated from the Faculty of Communication. He studied in one of the big cities and worked as a journalist. He starts the day with a coffee. He is well-dressed. On the interview day, he preferred a sporty style. He also worked in other industries, as well. He is not self-taught; he is an upper mid-sized investor who has also invested in journalism. He continued his profession in Gaziantep but says he could not find what he expected. He also owns magazines and an advertising agency. He says he actually makes money from the advertising agency. Journalist G. works here. She switched from advertisement to reporting. Now she works in the editorial team She is one of the few female journalists in Gaziantep. She thinks that she has no difficulty in getting himself accepted as a female journalist in the city.

Location and People 5

The newspaper founded by O. is located in an apartment. The newspaper was later transferred to Mrs. A. But O. is actively in the newspaper. TRT was on during the interview. The newspaper has been published since 1973. In 1988, it was bought by O. They had to reduce their circulation from 2,500 to 1,800. O. carries a gun. He was visited by a senior soldier during the interview. Journalist N. is graduated from the Faculty of Communication. He is not from Gaziantep; he has been working as a journalist for 2,5 years. He sees the newspaper as his home as the first place he worked. He has goals but he also doesn't want to leave here.

Location and People 6

The person responsible for the execution of Gaziantep's oldest newspaper is S.N. A female journalist graduated from the faculty of communication. She is an experienced and recognized journalist. The owner of the newspaper lives out of the city. S.N. started to work in this newspaper in 1994 and she has been the editor-in-chief since 1998. The newspaper is located in a self-contained building. The building is located in Kavaklık, one of the oldest neighborhoods of Gaziantep. It has an ancient architecture. The building is also used for housing. It also has an extensive library, unlike others.

Findings and Evaluation

Relationship; A Family Outside

The interviewees mostly emphasize that they have developed a non-confrontational relationship with the employer in their workplace relations. Their interrelation with the work corresponds to an artisanal experience. There is a partnership developed between the employer and the employees on the survival of the workplace. Some are already relatives and non-relatives are included in this system. However, the course of personal relationships is shaped by pushing forward, withdrawing and walking around. For example, reporter N. says that her dialogs with her boss have developed in line with what happens to us when they write something. This is a kind of self-censorship, according to N. N.'s boss O. also emphasizes that he interferes with the news. Because he is afraid. After saying that the employee is a newly graduated reporter, he states that she is right from his own perspective. But according to him, there is also the economic dimension of the situation. O.:

All in all, N. is a fresh graduate and she is like our daughter. If she doesn't feel like we're protecting her, she can't adopt her to the newspaper. She should be saying this: Mrs. A., O. loves me like his daughter; he protects me. If she doesn't feel it, she can neither be successful in her profession nor offer anything here, or she can't learn something from here.

They see N. as their daughter. This causes the social patterns of protection to be operated on N. The workplace is also a home. Continuity between work and private life in craftsmanship shows itself here. N. also sees here as her home. 'If I leave this newspaper, I will not work in another newspaper. I learned here, I grew here, something happened here, but it will also end here. If I didn't work here, I would want to work in an institution where every woman, journalist, human being and anyone who wants to earn money wishes to work at.' However, apart from these, N. also has some awareness within the borders of the house. She is also aware that these relationships contradict with journalism:

> Nobody speaks of the employees. Especially the reporters. We say associations; there are 8 associations in Antep, but the revenues of the newspaper, the money given by the press ad agency or our expenses are mentioned (our newspaper here). But the journalist is different from these. The reporter never has to think if the newspaper is earning money or not. The reporter has to focus on the quality of the news. They have to think on how and with whom to make higher quality news. But these problems also affect us. We discuss these among each other. Nobody has a statement regarding the salary of the reporter. I should also be somehow motivated and charged. There is nobody speaking

> of the salary and living conditions of the reporter. Yes, there is no time. They have good intentions; they really have good intentions about this. . .

It is seen that the interviewed journalists say that they are in harmony with their bosses as a merit not generally found in other newspapers. The fact that the work is based on a conflict-free relationship also affects the establishment of editorial independence in terms of journalism. For example, S., one of the employees of a different broadcasting organization, says that they are lucky compared to other institutions in terms of editorial independence: 'We can write what we want, either in our columns or in our news. But we are doing it in accordance with the general framework so that the institution will not be harmed.' The possibility of damage to the institution causes a self-control mechanism to come into operation. The intertwining of the private space with the work in artisanal work causes the institution to be seen as an asset area for the employee. Saying that the control is not caused by their boss, S. emphasizes that a self-censorship is carried out by them to prevent damage to the institution.

Another employer Ö. says he does not interfere with the news of his employees:

> They do. I never interfere with. I only say this. Everyone in Antep reads our newspaper. Those who run the city in Antep. I get news from people in Turkey or anywhere in the world via Whatsapp. I have a list. As our responsibility is so much, I pay attention to everything word by word. For example, they go and report freely, then we say that it's good news but the other day, we get in trouble because of any sentence.

Here, they enjoy their profession despite its challenges. In addition, L. – Ö.'s daughter – says: 'When I failed in the university exam, my father told me to come here and start to work with small steps. He told about his memories. And coming up through the ranks sounded alright to me when I see the others. I started with press releases, then switched to courthouse, hospital reporting and then to office, I love my job.' Commitment to the profession is a commitment to a family.

Another newspaper worker sees the harmony of his bosses with his employees as a first in Gaziantep. Ç. relates this to the background of the boss as a journalist.

> When you make a news in Gaziantep when it is appropriate, we can make a sensational news the next day. When we say that we will bring this news to the agenda, I have not heard 'no' to almost any request for the last two years since I've been here. Because he has a background in local journalism for years, he knows how this operation works. In other words, any person who has a background in the profession understands the employees in any case.

Newspaper owners maintain intimate relationships with their local employees. This is reflected in the language used, as well. This language takes employees from a modern labor position to a socialized traditional way of working. The

newspaper owner may be a father or brother. They even sometimes warn them strictly about the profession. Owner Ş.:

> Do you think maybe there is one more person like C. in Antep? I asked him what he wanted. He said that he wanted to be a journalist. And I asked, 'Are you crazy?' No matter how much I explained, he wanted to do it. I told him to go and find another job. I told him I would only pay minimum wage here. I said I wanted to give more but I couldn't. Because, here I'm providing the livelihood of children. I can't give more. Maybe his work would be ten times more valuable, I said I couldn't afford it. I told him that he wouldn't have a fixed working time. I told him that he would have to come at night during the bank holidays. He said OK. I say this and he says OK. I say that and he says OK. Now we don't have such types.

C. – who doesn't listen to his brothers warning – is one of the employees that are hard to find for newspaper owners. Owner Ş., at the same time, prepares them for the future with the trainings given to his employees in his newspaper. Thus, he has also undertaken an artisanal education mission:

> For example, the graphic designer is 18–19 years old. A 20-year-old person may make a newspaper without reading it. I get angry and tell him to learn. I tell him to make an effort. No. Look, anyone from Ş.'s team – i.e. my team – would find a job in other newspapers at the moment they step outside from here. They will be seized instantly. For example, when the chamber of industry needs personnel, they ask from us. Again, the chamber of commerce also asks from us. The governor, as well. Why? Because if that person is working for Ş., then he is at least grounded. He would possibly be more knowledgeable. He would have something according to their preferences. Now we don't have this anymore.

Knowing that his employees are from different political views, Ş. claims that the newspaper could live only three months if he left the newspaper in their hands. Ş is also aware that his employees are careful about this. In other words, the newspaper as a bread & butter is everyone's responsibility.

It is observed that employees working in local newspapers establish personal relationships with their bosses. It is possible to say that these relations are shaped by trying to make the ship swim in the swirls of the economic and political structure of the working place. However, it would be misleading to say that employees have developed their personal understanding and sympathy from here. They see their employers as big brother or father rather than the boss. They think their problems are not from the boss, but from the outside. It must be stated that bosses also adopt these personal relationships. They have established special connections with their employees: They are in the same boat. An organic solidarity suitable for craftsmanship prevails in newspaper institutions. But it is clear that the deterioration of such relations will have devastating consequences.

During the interview, asking for keeping secret some details about employees who lost their emotional ties shows that the issue can meet the dimensions further than the termination of an ordinary employment contract.

The relations dimension has a craftsman status in the media organizations interviewed. The positioning of the workplace as an extension of the family indicates this situation. The extension of family relations to the workplace seems to be the guarantee of editorial independence. Since no one doubts anyone, it is claimed that the editorial independence is maintained by the interviewees. Therefore, a craftsman positioning is an obstacle to questioning journalism at the local level of journalism.

Oppression, Routine and Play

The fact that local newspaper employees and owners create the feeling of being in this same boat is the pressure from the outside, the economic and political spheres. The content of these pressures is about survival. This also pushes local journalists to a position close to what is about to disappear. It's not about losing anything, it's about losing everything with something. O.:

Now we have no chance to criticize the ruling party in any way Absolutely. Look, if I criticize now, we will have a lot of work to do. I know that. Official announcement will be submitted, taxers will also come here. We will shut down and go.

None of the local journalists have a special opposing political position. Many have described their positions from a pure journalistic ideal. They are angry with many people, with other newspapers, local administrators, government, readers, academics. . . They have to play with what they can't and won't be able write. N.:

> Now I am trying to write what you say automatically, more smoothly by clipping the edges and the corners. All the factors we just said affects me internally. It means internally I feel that I won't make that news in that way. But in the last moment I cannot pass without saying that we are all people who say 'enough' to something. And so, it is in our headline today. We now get the opinions of other parties on this issue, except for the AKP. Because we can't stand. No gain, no material gain, no thanking anyway. . . and now we are all fed up. With saying and writing the same thing.

Here are the traces of the contrast between freedom and creation. After that, a crafting style of acting begins to enter the circuit. The following example of N. should be noted. She begins with a metaphor for venues, mostly composed of an apartment or an office:

> We can say that we have to declare our freedom in our own cage. Without being noticed. Believe me, I make so many oppositional news without realizing that they don't even notice.

A freedom found in a cage: A fine work. Opposing news requires a skill of acting. On the other hand, here external relations are carried out with personal ties. In other words, an artisanal friendship is also pursued for economic interest. It is possible to hold on to the environment economically with friendship relations. B.:

> It's a very troublesome job. No matter how big the city is in Anatolian cities like Gaziantep, people know each other, and reporting is difficult. You are looking at the news someone you know very well. The incident is wrong, but as soon as you make the news, all your relationships with that person end. Unfortunately, this is the job of journalists. In addition, if you receive advertising, your ad is cut, and the subscriber cancels. The local press also needs to stay in balance strictly.

Artisanal balance has to be carried out with a sociality defined by financial relations. Congregational relations and friendships also appear as collateral for money relations. It is possible to see similar traces in the relationships with institutions. Ö.:

> In recent years, a mindset that accepts no fault is dominant in Turkey. A mindset that does not accept criticism prevails. That's why, when you try to do it, the point of view of the municipality, the province, the official institutions and even the chambers of industry and commerce against you changes. In other words, they do not want you to reveal or say critical aspects. What do they do? They don't give you such a precise line, but they're punishing you. How do they do it? If you put an opposing article on the newspaper today, or you have a critical article, they say they won't let you use their resources.

The relation of political and economic centers with the local press is mostly shaped by the positioning of the distributed opportunities as an indicator of punishment or reward. Journalism is positioned here not as a right, but as a means of being in a relationship. In other words, it corresponds to the basic assumptions of organic sociality in which traditional craftsmanship is located. Of course, it wasn't always like this. Experienced journalist Ö. states that they were able to fight once: 'There is a Zeugma incident in Antep, you don't know. They were stealing Zeugma mosaics from here. We were the only ones to stop this as journalists. We had a huge fight that extended to the ministers of the time. We did this. It was excellent'. But he is also lamented that there is no such environment anymore. He thinks that he can't do his job anymore. He is a craftsman that knows that he is *on the verge of dying*. This information may also be the trigger of taking action.

S.N. is also a former journalist. She has a method he developed to get rid of economic and political pressure.

> Now we produce the special news as follows. For example, I'm told recently that Agency X goes to the public and says, 'We will direct the microphone but don't say things like the economic situation is bad, there is crisis, etc.'. They will come and make news if they say things like 'good, it's active, etc.'. Our reporter goes and they say the situation is not like that at all. We try to make difference by using different channels such as by putting a different news on the headline and then saying the craftsmen are in trouble, they have debts to the banks, etc.

The criticism of local journalists has a wide range reaching the economic, political and social level. Especially they have to regulate their relations with local administrations and economic environments. While writing their news, they take care not to damage these relationships; they walk around, they don't write directly, they imply. They play with the ruling party. O.:

> The owner of Y. carpet died. There was a memorial two days ago. The whole press was there. They had to. He places a ads on the newspaper. If you do not go to his grave, do not attend that memorial service, do not give him a headline the next day, if you do not say 1000 people were there instead of 10, you lose your advertisement. If the next day your headline doesn't say "Y. was remembered by tens of thousands of people', you're also dead.

The play turns into mockery. Degrading his own work can offer the journalist an opportunity to criticize. O.:

> We have to keep our relations very well with all three municipalities. Like don't do even a slightest thing. . . No journalist would do. Now I say this. I told one of the mayors – I won't give the name. I told him, 'Why do you publish these press releases?'. 'Our newspapers are already like your releases'. 'Why do you waste such money on paper?'. . . 'The district municipality did this and that'. 'What a pity! Stop this'. Our newspapers are already published as if their municipality releases. We publish exactly what you send to us.

The artisanal journalist shows an ironic courage with the feel of being on the verge. He uses his absence as an opportunity, as if taunting his death. For journalists, the primary signs that the media environment has deteriorated are attributed to those who entered this market for other purposes. This attitude makes it possible to transfer structural problems to exceptional subjective evils. The evil forces that blocked the abundance of the craftsman's work have disguised:

> 'We already want to compete anyway. There is no environment to compete. We are OK if someone better than us emerges. We want competition. They will also contribute to employment. We are not against that they also make news. What we are against is just

> that an irrelevant person hires newspaper B or C for their design without investing. It has nothing to do with journalism. This is threat and blackmail journalism. They threaten you when they receive a document. They want money. The perspective towards the journalist then changes. These are intimidators, blackmailers.

The blackmailing relationship established with advertisers is a common problem for all journalists. Journalists mostly attribute this to the fact that everybody can publish newspapers. For this reason, they complain that partnerships between journalists and broadcasters cannot be established at the local level. They don't want everyone to publish newspapers. This is a conservative and nostalgic demand for artisan guilds. A sheltered area is requested. This situation even has an extended scale to the city. The main complaint is about not getting enough support from the notables of the city. İ.:

> They visit you but never think of helping the local press or subscribing. This is not all. When it comes to money, they don't want to give TL 250 for annual subscription. But if you visit them every day to make news, they will welcome you with compliments but when it comes to money. . . Even the leading NGOs of the cities are no different. They think there is a lot of support for the local press, but they don't do anything.

The local press is constructed as a craftsman profession that has disappeared during these interviews. Everyone should think of something for its disappearance. Nostalgia appears as a yearning for the time when they think that the profession is well done among the interviewees. The artisan journalist hopes for help from the capitalist and thinks that he must be protected with a guild request. He has now undertaken a nostalgic mission. However the irony of those who know that they are on the verge of disappearance can turn this image into a position against power.

Conclusion

We can mention that the local press has the function of taking micro and singular contexts of social life to a public level on an ideal level. However as in today's Turkish media system, the local media is based on the distribution of the economic, social, political and media system from the center to the provincial or local, it seems possible to say that the local media has a low public impact at the reporting level. This area, which is dominated by a small scale of artisanal journalism, can be the carrier of a crafting passion and also its contradictions.

Craftsmanship is included in a nostalgic imagination with the information that it has disappeared in modern times. However, this nostalgia makes the manifestations of craftsmanship in modern ways of working and acculturation invisible and prevents it from revealing its current social role by keeping it at a

romantic imagination level. A criticism in this direction does not neglect the knowledge that craftsmanship has been transformed and even gives it a role in influencing the modern world. In this study, this role was tried to be examined based on the local press plane. This research did not find examples of how journalism should be. What was revealed was mostly on how to survive and subtle methods of suggestions or solutions for it, or complaints about the current situation. In the interviews, it was determined that the profession was approached as a nostalgic image, it should be protected in this context, family relations are dominated by the profession and the relationship with the government is established with a kind of solidarity language. In addition, we encountered with the ironic perspective of those who are passing, know that they are losing time and don't find it risky. Distances to power often became apparent at times when the acceptance of the information that it's passing was based on.

In short, in this artisan experience, a number of distinctive elements such as family, organic solidarity, authority, trust, play, cooperation, routine and ritual, and being on the verge are encountered. However, it is necessary to underline that having knowledge of acting and being on the verge, apart from others, is related to the questioning codes of the journalism profession. It's generally pretty hard to see anything different, valuable or new towards journalism in it: unless it's dependent on irony. Perhaps this is the only difference left to us. . .

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Devrim İnce

Visualization of the Revolution: Symbols, Typography and Page Design in the Early Republican Journalism

Introduction

At the beginning of the last century, the world had staged not only the revolutionaries, demagogues and new generation autocrats; but also, artists, social scientists and, of course, journalists. After all, it was the golden age of mass movements, revolutions and propaganda and past and future were about to separate. In 1917 Russian Empire collapsed due to the February Revolution; afterwards, respectively Second Reich and Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Ottoman Empire in 1922 shared the same destiny in a few years following WW1. Those who replaced them neither have the Orthodox Church like the Russian Tsar, nor the title of the caliph of the Ottoman Emperors or the nobility of the Habsburgs. But it could be understood that they had more useful new-born tool-sheds called mass communication for legitimizing and popularizing themselves. By the way, compared to the former rulers' tool-sheds the new actors had got unique superiority. The new rulers managed to make so much change in such a short time, even in societies living with inertia of centuries, thanks to the possibilities provided by mass media.

In the case of Turkey, with the expression of Kemal Atatürk, it was *Turkish general revolution* that brought *a new society* within (2006: 397). Following the abolition of the sultanate, in a few decades a series of super-structural revolutions were implemented from gender equality to civil code, from garb to the change of alphabet and calendar. Constructing the new society didn't mean only changing of laws, dress and government style but also transformation of visuality and seeing. For instance, founders of Turkey thought modern architecture could be of a powerful spiritual partner (Balamir, 2003). At that time, in a press conference in İzmir Atatürk said that "*The Press of Turkey will construct a steel fortress around the Republic... A fortress of ideas, a fortress of thought...* (2006: 170)." From the words of Ataturk, it may be derived that journalists were evaluated as strategic partners for popularizing revolutions and the Republic. Meanwhile, compared to the Turkey with the new republics such as Germany or USSR, Turkey had got limited possibilities for mobilizing her people and changing her

mind-set through press because of very low literacy rate. That's why conventional journalism of the period based on letters had to expand its margins to the point where readers could have found an understandable content on the page. In this period when desktop publishing possibilities were non-existent, and the opportunities of visual design were comprised of few typographic selections, illustrations, caricatures and limited photography, it was definitely a difficult task to generate meaning with anything other than letters.

This study examines the relation between visual design of press in the 1930s early Republican era and initiatives of modernization in Turkey. Aim of the study is to understand how the modernization efforts and the Revolutions are popularized by newspapers through visual design. For this purpose, firstly wielding of visual elements in media is focused, the relationship between political orientation and newspaper page design is scrutinized. The research sample is comprised of 60 items from the Daily Cumhuriyet which have been selected randomly. The study reveals that the Cumhuriyet puts forward some visuals that represent transformation of the superstructural and the substructural. Signs of economic development have been symbolized by illustrations of railways and trains. Signs of superstructural modernizations and revolutions are both women who then exist in public sphere and lifestyle stories' photos. To sum up, Cumhuriyet is not only a passive observer of the events that modernized Turkey but also an active producer of modern images and lifestyle.

Visuality and Newspaper Layout

In the beginning of the *Ways of Seeing*, Berger underlines a gap between words and seeing, inspiring from surrealist painter Rene Magritte's painting called *The Key of Dreams,* in Figure 1, (1990: 7). As you try to think about meaning and visuality, it is possible to write some paradoxical sentences that what we think and believe affect our seeing or vice versa. The striking element in the painting, mentioned by Berger is the mismatch of the words and images.

That's why Berger states that *"Yet this seeing which comes before words, and can never be quite covered by them, is not a question of mechanically reacting to stimuli… We only see what we look at. To look is an act of choice. As a result of this act, what we see is brought within our reach – though not necessarily within arm's reach* (1990: 7–8)".

The relationship of language with words, visuality and experience has been discussed for a long time in philosophy, literature and mass communication. Language forms the basis of communicational activity and it does not have a single form. It may have verbal, written or visual form. Saussure explains this

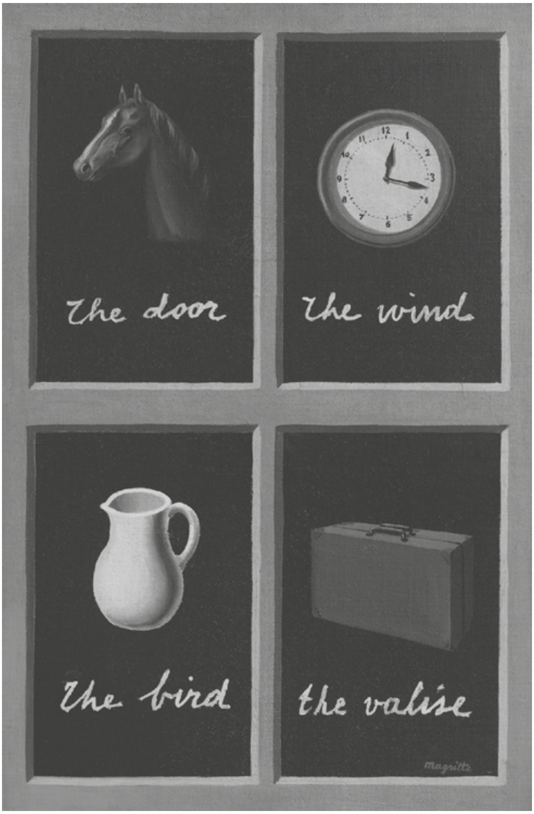


Figure 1: The Key of Dreams by Magritte (1898–1967)

as follows: "*Language is a system of signs that express ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing, the alphabet of deaf-mutes, symbolic rites, polite formulas, military signals, etc. But it is the most important of all these systems* (Saussure, 1959: 16)."

The relationship of meaning with language, or how the meaning is constructed, constitutes an important moot point, especially in structuralism and semiotics. Scholars such as Pierce, Saussure, Barthes and their followers have made various propositions on the relationship between meaning and language. Saussure sees the relationship between meaning and language as a kind of sign system(Saussure, 1959: 65). A sign may replace something other than itself or make someone assume as such. It is possible to talk about two separate elements

of the sign: signifier and signified (Saussure, 1959: 66). The relationship between a wedding dress and marriage could make an example. The wedding dress is actually a dress made of some kind of fabric. However, this is only the perceived part of the sign. In semiotics, this is called a signifier. Signified is the meaning or the image in our mind based on the sign. The wedding dress symbolizes marriage in our mind. However, this is only possible within a paradigm. Signs have a conventional nature that is generated in mutual and if this disappears, they lose meaning or undergo a false code. In *Course in General Linguistics*, first published in 1915, Saussure also looks for an answer to why written or visual communication forms are more persuasive and permanent comparing to the verbal communication. He replies his question as follows: "*Most people pay more attention to visual impressions simply because these are sharper and more lasting than aural impressions; that is why they show a preference for the former*. . .(Saussure, 1959: 25)".

It is possible to add a few questions for scrutinizing visuality and ideological preference. One of these is about whether there is a correlation between visual preferences, political orientation and personality traits. Tackling such questions may be useful in developing the theoretical background of the study. For example, Austin, in 1977, designed a research to explain whether there is a relationship between visual and political preferences, if any, the nature of this relationship. He was inspired by the following lines of the famous Tunisian Author Albert Memmi: "*To be a rightist or a leftist is not merely a way of thinking but also-perhaps especially-a way of feeling and living* (Memmi, 1968: 27)". Based on the assumptions in the work of many previous thinkers, Austin asked 95 American and 376 Japanese about 31 visual items in their research. Each of the visual elements shown had a political reference, similar to the personality tests we see on social media today. Associating conservatism with control and hierarchy and the left with pluralism and freedom, Austin had the following assumptions regarding visuals:

> "We think and feel in pictures, and pictorial symbolism expresses our most basic ideas, emotions, and judgments. We use the material forms of the world to serve as concrete pointers to abstractions and intangibles. . .Straight lines, broken by angles, are exciting, furious, hard, or powerful. Curves are sad, lazy, quiet, or merry. Upward lines denote strength, energy, force; downward lines relaxation or depression. . ." (Austin 1977: 308)

Participants whose political preferences were known prior to the research give the researcher a chance to test whether there was a consistency between their political orientation and their visual preferences when they encoded the visual item of their choice, as seen in Figure 2.

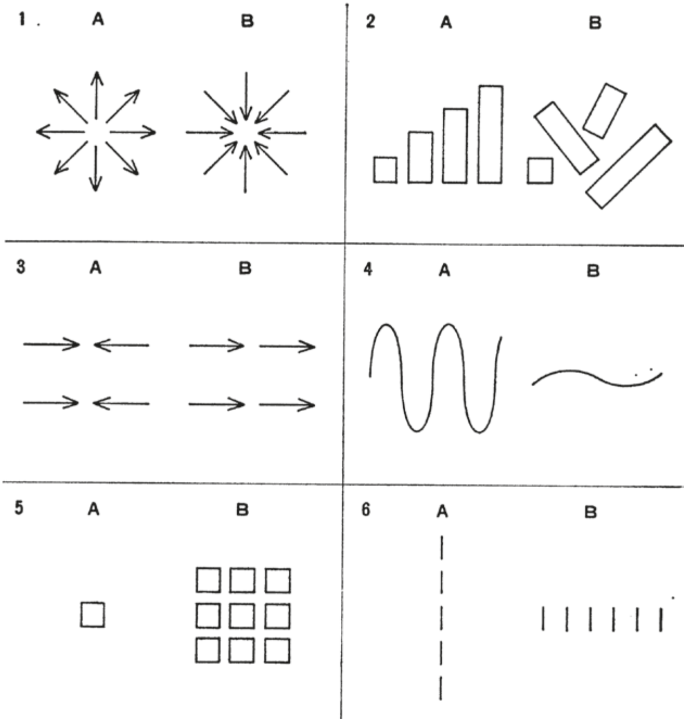


Figure 2: Some shapes that are asked by Austin to participants about their preferences. (Austin, 1977: 313)

The results of the research revealed that there is a consistent relationship between visual preferences and political orientation. For example, those who define themselves as conservative favored figures that are more static, more organized, more diverse, more balanced, more introverted, larger, completed and sharp-edged; those who define themselves as leftists preferred more dynamic, more irregular, diverse, extroverted, soft corners and smaller shapes (Austin, 1977: 320–322).

Based on this one and similar research, it can be said that man is a vision-oriented creature and that many of our inconspicuous thoughts and feelings are based on the symbols of the visual world. Visuality affects our decisions about the things around us in its deepest and highest sense.

It is possible to rethink these assumptions in terms of newspaper reading activities. A good editor knows that a reader does not need to read every word

of every article. Readers can spend about five minutes on a newspaper (de Vries, 2008: 6). So, according to which elements is the visual expression of the newspaper shaped? More specifically, does the visual design of a newspaper page have any reference to political orientation?

It is not possible to find a rich literature in communication science focused on these subjects. Much of the work on page design and political content focus on issues such as visual framing in the context of political communication (Barnhurstand Steele, 1997; Grabeand Bucy, 2009) or the use of photography (Barnhurstand Steele, 1997; Grabeand Bucy, 2009). A rather recent study by Schindler and Müller tries to explain the relationship between the political orientation of the national newspapers in Germany and the page design (2018). Before mentioning the findings of the study in question, it would be appropriate to mention some basic concepts related to page design.

Newspaper layout is to bring, text, photo, caricature, graphic, illustration, etc. all the visual elements together in a certain logical framework. This work has functional and aesthetic purposes for a printed publication. The most important one of functional goals is to make easier the access of the reader to the content, that is, to make the news, photos and articles more readable. In terms of aesthetics, there are many goals including creating corporate identity and providing originality. According to deVries who is inspired from Richard Buchanan's *Four Orders of Design* approach that are symbol, object, action and thought (Buchanan 1992), journalism and page design are basically related to three disciplines. The first is the technical phase of the work. The second is editorial discipline. The third and last one is systems. These three disciplines intersect with each other as seen in Figure 3 (de Vries 2008: 7):

The technical discipline includes a variety of choices ranging from typographic structuring of the page design job to printing techniques, paper type, and the number of materials to be printed. Here, expert knowledge is required from many different fields from engineering to ethical-aesthetic approaches. The editorial discipline is more concerned with mastering the editorial phase of journalism but is not limited to it. At this stage of the page design, the main purpose is to make journalistic skills practical enough to use the visual facilities in the most efficient way. Being able to use both workforce and technical equipment with minimum cost and efficiency is closely related to disciplines such as business administration, and this is the systemic phase of the page design work.

It is possible to say that newspapers' page design is related with their corporate identity, ideological preferences and their readers profile. The logo of the newspaper or magazine, the quality of the paper and the photographs, the colours used, and the understanding of design are the elements that make up the



Figure 3: According to de Vries, three disciplines of page design in newspaper industry overlap each other (de Vries 2008:7)

corporate identity. According to the research about the five German newspapers that have been mentioned above, the way the newspapers use the page design elements and their typefaces have political meaning (Schindler and Müller, 2018). Five German newspapers from right to left were analyzed in the context of page designs and political orientations in mentioned research. It is remarkable that newspapers which has a right-wing political orientation prefer a more classic page design, while left-wing newspapers tend to focus more on modern design styles (Schindler and Müller, 2018: 155).

The Importance of the Typography on Newspaper Industry

The original purpose of typography was simply copying (Bringhurst, 2004: 15). What is copied is the language itself. In this context, it is possible to talk about two separate sets of signs in terms of semiotics. Speaking is the natural medium of language. Writing is an external system of signs created to represent speech. So, writing is another language representing a language. We can compare this to the intonation and style of a person in verbal communication. The difference is the replacement of the sound by typography or color in written communication.

The main difference of typography from calligraphy and other arts on writing is that it has a standardizing and homogenising quality. The geometrical features of many of the most used typefaces in the world today have been determined

and agreed upon. Just as language finds its meaning "arbitrarily" in an environmental and systematic integrity, it can be said that typography has a nature of idealized and captured. *"The same alphabets and page designs can be used for a biography of Mohandas Gandhi and for a manual on the use and deployment of biological weapons* (Bringhurst, 2004: 17)". In newspapers, an important part of typographic preferences is related to the typefaces. However, it is not possible to reduce all the elements of typography to the typefaces. It can be said that typographic selection basically serves two purposes. The first one is readability and the second one is legibility (Aik, 2015). Although many newspapers prefer the similar typefaces nowadays, when the line spacing, letter sizes, boldfaces and almost all the choice of typefaces change; the text can look quite different. "*The typographer's one essential task is to interpret and communicate the text. Its tone, its tempo, its logical structure, its physical size, all determine the possibilities of its typographic form. The typographer is to the text as the theatrical director to the script, or the musician to the score* (Bringhurst, 2004: 17)".

As a written communication medium newspaper has a two-way relationship with typography. As a medium, newspaper is the conveyor of the typographic structure and the text and makes the typefaces recognizable. For example, the Times New Roman typeface, which is widely used today, had been developed by The Times newspaper in the beginning of the last century (Loxley, 2006: 130–131). The Times has visual characteristics of this typefaces from first page to nut graph. Then this typeface was started to be widely used in many print sources. Another aspect of journalism's relationship with typography is related to the role played by typographic preference in page design and identity construction. The reader's interest to the text in the newspaper is directly related to the contrast and the colors used on the page. According to the research of Garcia and Stark, the human eye turns to the colored page between two newspaper pages placed side by side (Garcia and Stark, 1991: 67). In addition to visual elements such as photos and graphics, the typeface and how it is used also play an important role in determining the focus of the page. Designer of the page determines the item to be emphasized (title, illustration, photograph, text) and then deploy applications like selection of font size, dark or bright color or using bold, etc.

Newspapers generally choose sans-serif typefaces such as Helvetica or Arial for page headlines. However, serif typefaces are generally preferred in the body of news stories. It is noteworthy that in the headline and subheadings – most often in the body text – some variations of inscribed typefaces, such as bold, italic, narrow, are used. This, of course, has a meaning beyond the arbitrary preferences of the designer. Many designers assume that the text with serif typefaces are more readable than sans-serif ones. On the other hand, according to a study conducted

on university students in the US, it was revealed that during the reading of a text on screen, sans-serif typefaces such as Verdana was able to be read about 1 % faster than serif typefaces such as Times New Roman (Josephson, 2008: 76–77).

Studies on the political meaning of typographic preferences reveal very interesting findings. For example, Lupton claims that the RomeinduRoi typeface, which was ordered by King 14th Louis in France in the first years of enlightenment, reflecting the excellent proportions of the mathematical age, reflects scientific typographic precision(Lupton, 2004: 16–17). It is known that the Nazis, who give special importance to the typeface, forbid all typefaces on the grounds that are not Aryan and chose the Fraktur font because of the German-Roman origin (Anon, 2019). In the study about the five German newspapers mentioned above, typographic elections were found to be extremely effective in the reference of the political orientations of the newspapers. According to the research, left-liberal wing newspapers more refer sans-serif typefaces more while right-conservative newspapers prefer serif typefaces. Left-liberal newspapers use more colored, smaller point size and miniscule character than right-conservative rivals (Schindler and Müller, 2018: 155). Again, in Germany, a study on readers reveals that newspaper layout and text slant yield cues about the political orientation of the papers (Schindler, Krämer, and Müller 2017: 360–362). Given these studies, it is possible to say that choosing typeface is not solely a neutral preference but imbued with ideological proclivities.

Page Design Practices in Newspapers in Turkey

Since Gutenberg Bible in 1455, typographic development of Latin letters had been in interaction with journalistic practices in the West. Newspapers in the UK, for example, played a leading role in the development of Latin typefaces. Even the first printing house with steam power was owned by the Times. In short, both typography and printing techniques have a coordinated development with newspaper industry. Using of the Latin letters in written sources both functionally and grammatically flawless had been possible since the 1960s in Turkey where transition from Arabic to Latin alphabet had taken place less than a century ago. In fact, it is possible to come across many spelling errors while looking at the newspapers of the 1970s.

Newspapers in the 1920–1930s, which may be described as the early Republican era were influenced by French newspapers in terms of page design. Functional page layout, in which the editorial column was widely used on the first page, were preferred by many newspapers. The focus of the page was to be created by using photographs, caricatures or illustrations. The number of

columns of newspapers ranged generally between 4 and 6. As a printing technique, a method called monotype was used in which all the text was printed as a block. The Cumhuriyet was the first newspaper that applied the linotype in the Turkish press, in which sheets were arranged on a special device similar to a typewriter and that provided more flexibility in page design. In this way, less time was spent for prints, which mostly lasted until 5.00 a.m. (Köktener, 2004: 23).

However, the importance of the Cumhuriyet for the Republic is not just about the printing technique it applies. According to Leyla Uşaklıgil, daughter of Yunus Nadi who is founder of the Cumhuriyet, whose name was given by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic (Köktener, 2004: 16) The newly established Republic was looking for an ethos and mindset different from past ones. In this society where class structure had been not formed yet, construction of the new Turkish people was also responsibility of a handful of people. Ahmad likens this job to what the Narodniks did in Tsarist Russia (2002, : 99). In these years where a new life style was tried to be created in every field, Cumhuriyet newspaper was almost the locomotive of progressiveness (Köktener, 2004: 39).

After the 1930s, the Cumhuriyet appeared before its readers with the pages of women, then culture, sports, humor, cinema and children. The newspaper organized a beauty contest and then a sound contest in the same years. Yunus Nadi responded to the conservatives who had criticized the beauty contest from his daily column as follows: "*There is not anything unchaste in beauty competitions, as some immoral charlatans would like to imply. In none of the competitions that Europe and America have been organizing for years and years, even no single unmoral point has come to memory. It can't be . . .* (Köktener, 2004: 36)". In short, the Cumhuriyet became a reference point for the new Turkish people not only in political news but also in their lifestyle choices.

The visual design of the newspaper was also quite unorthodox comparing to other newspapers. The French style applied by their rivals was thoroughly abandoned in the 1930s, and Yunus Nadi announced that his editorial column will no longer appear on the first page (Köktener, 2004: 23).Zekeriya Sertel, one of the three founding fathers of the Cumhuriyet, was one of the few trained journalists who studied journalism at Columbia University. The newspaper he was trying to make was similar to the American and British quality press.

After the establishment of the Republic, it can be seen that the printed media showed a significant increase in numbers. In 1923, while 40 newspapers had been published, this number was increased to 650 in the 1930s. The Cumhuriyet, which started its publishing life with a circulation of 7 thousand, had become one of the highest circulated newspapers of the era with a circulation of 8–9 thousand within four years. If we take into account that the Istanbul of those years

was 795 thousand people according to the 1927 census, this circulation rate might be assessed more accurately (Köktener, 2004: 22).

It is possible to say that newspapers came to the fore as the most important mass media of the period. The alphabet revolution in 1928 seriously affected the circulation of newspapers. The Cumhuriyet, which was published in half page in Latin letters and half page in Arabic letters after August 1928, started to introduce the Latin alphabet on August 2. It is claimed that with the transition to the Latin alphabet on December 1, 1928, the total circulation of newspapers decreased by 25–30 %.

The government provided financial support to the press due to the circulation loss of the newspapers in this process, and the Cumhuriyet was the newspaper that received the utmost subsidy with 2 thousand 500 liras (Acar, 2012: 9 cited from Şimşir, 1979: 153–154). Yunus Nadi, in his column dated December 1, 1928, wrote that the transition to Latin letters was the most fundamental step to reaching the Western civilizations (Nadi, 1928). According to Tunçay, the circulation of the Cumhuriyet in 1928 was about 20 thousand (Tunçay, 1981: 233). However, circulation after the alphabet revolution could not reach the level of 1928 until 1934 (Webster, 1939: 255).

In the first newspapers printed with the Latin alphabet, there were many spelling errors due to limited technical equipment and difficulties in accessing the typefaces produced in the world. Even in the 1960s, it is seen that designers had to "draw" the typography they wanted to use. "*Structural changes, such as the distortion of the anatomy of the letters, have caused some designed typefaces to move away from being like themselves in the hand drawing, leaving their place to their caricatures*" (Dündar, 2005: 107).

Despite its negative effects on circulation, it can be said that the alphabet revolution easies the practices of newspapers in terms of printing techniques. While the Arabic letters are written differently at the beginning, end and middle of the Turkish word, there are 432 sections in the case of typesetting; this number of sections of Latin letters in the case of typesetting has decreased to 104. (Acar, 2012: 10 cited from Kocabaşoğlu, 1981: 121). Besides the rate of literate people, which was about 8 % in 1928, increased to 20 % in 1935 and 30 % in 1945. (Ahmad, 2002: 102). This, of course, has been extremely effective for newspapers in terms of increasing the number of potential readers.

Findings of the Research

In this study, the first pages of the 60-day item of the Cumhuriyet determined by random sampling method between August and December of 1930 have been

examined. The page design of the newspaper and the visual elements used were analyzed by semiotic method within the context of the research purpose and were evaluated separately in terms of typography and page design.

It is possible to say that the period which is examined in the study yield findings specific to Turkey and the data can be useful for further study on Turkish modernization and westernization. However, before proceeding with the analysis, it is necessary to put forward a reservation. Today, by ignoring the possibilities and flexibility provided by desktop publishing and the enormous increase in print quality, it seems unreasonable to evaluate the newspapers about 80 years ago with contemporary aesthetic criteria. The research is designed to eschew this.

The Cumhuriyet's which is dissected in this research, has a sans-serif typeface in red and bold on a white background that non-specialist eyes cannot distinguish from version of the Paper. Printed in black and white, the newspaper has the possibility to use only one shade of red, green, yellow and blue. Preferring a functional page design that prioritizes the convey of the content, the newspaper is mainly composed of text. Photos are printed in black and white only, and letters and drawings can be presented with a limited color scale. It is seen that the newspaper generally preferred the headline spread over 6 columns. On the first page, starting from the top column under the logo on the far left, editorials with several columns cover a large area. Interestingly, very different from today's understanding, the columns where these editorials spread from the folding point of the newspaper down to the down of the page are separated by crosscut and damage the continuity of the next. The main element used by the newspaper to achieve contrast balance in page design are photos, drawings and illustration. The illustrations and drawings form the focus of the first page. In photography use, grey balance may occasionally cause visual disturbance due to print quality. Among the photographs and texts, colored and black crosscuts are used conveniently.

Modernization and Patriotism as Visual Elements

One of prominent signs of modernization is about economic development, which constitutes the infrastructural dimension of concepts such as modernization, westernization and development. The other leading sign is about superstructure which covers lifestyle, culture and ideology.

The main signs presenting economic development and modernization are generally sought in the agriculture and transportation sectors by the Cumhuriyet. Returning to Saussure's concept of sign, mentioned in previous sections, the sign is what can replace or invoke the idea of something other than itself.


YEDINCI SENE — N° 2269

PAZAR 31 AGUSTOS 1930

Başmuharriri YUNUS NADİ

İDAREHANESİ: Telgraf: İstanbul Cumhuriyet Posta kutusu: N° 246

Telefon: Başmuharrir: 2366 Tahrir müdürü: 3236

Cumhuriyet

ABONE ŞERAİTİ

MÜDDET:	TÜRKİYE İÇİN	HARİÇ İÇİN
Seneliği	1400 Kr.	2700 Kr.
6 Aylığı	750 Kr.	1450 Kr.
3 Aylığı	400 Kr.	800 Kr.

Nüshası her yerde — 5 Kuruştur —

İSMET PAŞA CEVAP VERDİ

Nutuktan: "Bu hatla, memleketi muhafaza için sarfedeceğimiz kan yarıyarıya inmiştir.„

Figure 4: The Cumhuriyet, August 31, 1930 İsmet Pasha replies: "With this railway, the blood that we will have to spend to defend the country decreases by half"

It is observed that the train, which is a means of transportation, is used quite frequently as a visual element by the Cumhuriyet. The train as a sign of modernization is endowed with connotational meanings which refer to different references other than transportation. As Barthes states:

> "The signifiers of connotation, which we shall call connatators, are made up of signs (signifier and signifieds united) of the denoted system. Naturally several denoted signs can be grouped together to form a single connatator – provided the latter has a single signified of connation, in other words, the units of connoted system do not necessarily have the same size as those of the denoted system(Barthes, 1986: 91)."

These connotations are comprised of country defence, patriotism and/or security measures. For example, figure 4 is about transportation. But its subtitle reads that "With this railway, the blood that we will have to spend to defend the country decreases by half." Another, in figure 5, is about Victory Day of Turkey and it reads "Listen to the sound of victory" in the heading.


YEDINCI SENE — N° 2268

CUMARTESI 30 AGUSTOS 1930

YUNUS NADI

IDAREHANESİ:

Telgraf: İstanbul Cumhuriyet

Posta kutusu: N° 246

Telefon:

Cumhuriyet

ABONE ŞERAİTİ

MÜDDET:	TÜRKİYE İÇİN	HARİÇ İÇİN
Seneliği	1400 Kr.	2700 Kr.
6 Aylığı	750 Kr.	1450 Kr.
3 Aylığı	400 Kr.	800 Kr.

Nüshası her yerde

— 5 Kuruştur —

"Zafer„in Sesini Dinleyiniz!

"Gazi„ den

Cevap

Figure 5: The Cumhuriyet, August 30, 1930 Listen to the sound of Victory!

As far as understood from the visuals, the train coded as a signifier or in another words this is the perceived part of sign as it is. So, what is the signified? The meaning formed in the mind is called as signified. Taking into account that the signified may find its meaning only within a system and an integrity, seeing the visuals of train around with other visual elements on the page may render connotative readings possible. Under these circumstances the signified will change according to the context of the stories. The figure 4 has two main illustrations. The left one is about Turkish Independence War, dated as *August 922* on the upper left corner. Another illustration about transportation investments of government at that times, which is dated as *August 930* on the upper right corner. The context seems to be based on a historical narrative that tells us the starting point and the current situation of a new-born country. In such a context, two aspects of what is signified through the train can be illustrated. One of them is about modernization and progress. Another seems to be a little more related with recent history, namely the Independence War, and its memories. It would not be wrong to say that the train is the signifier of the Republic together with these concepts, which is newly established and much more modern than the former, rather than representing a means of transportation in terms of semiological aspect.

The train as a signifier is also used in caricatures as a visual element. Caricature is one of the main visual instruments used by the newspapers of the period. Just as it can carry a direct political message, caricatures have a potential for

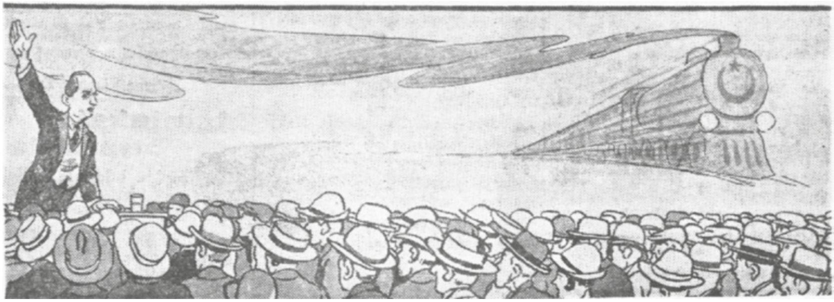


Figure 6: The Cumhuriyet, August 31, 1930 - Men wearing hat and frock-dressed orator are converged with the image of train to connote modernization

determining agenda items and strong influence on public opinion (Başaran İnce, 2015: 99).

Besides, considering the circumstances of the country which had experienced the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sûkun Kanunu*) that limited many civil liberties until a year ago, the caricatures gave a chance to the journalists to express their views without irritating the government. "*Even though the caricatures seem to look independent on the page, negative judgements and images present in the news are transferred to the caricatures* (Bezirgan Arar, 2010: 162)".

The train caricatures in the Cumhuriyet, figure 6, are also associated with Atatürk's own expression, the "new society", and apparently it is the face of modernization and westernization with visual elements such as frock-dressed orator and men wearing hat. These visuals used side by side, have strengthened the relationship of the connotative meaning of the train with the concept of the Republic and the new society.

In the figure 7, the locomotive of the train in the caricatures had been drawn like the face of İsmet İnönü who was prime minister at that time. The İnönü train had been shown as the nightmare of Fethi Okyar, the leader of the short-lived opposition party. The overlapping and association of İsmet İnonu's face with train connotes that İnonu harbors all the qualities the train is endowed with modern, strong, deterrent to the "enemies". In other caricature in the same context, figure 8, it seems a race between the train of the Prime Minister İnönü loaded with domestic capital and the horse of the opposition leader Okyar loaded with foreign capital. Here again, while the train connotes technology, namely the westernization, the horse symbolizes the underdevelopment of the east. Kemalist discourse's main dichotomy as the West vs. the East is embodied



Figure 7: The Cumhuriyet, August 30, 1930 Nightmare! Fethi Bey – Lord, protect me from being crushed beneath

in train symbolism. Domestic and foreign capital signification also refers to the "anti-imperialist independence discourse" of Kemalism as a nationalist modernization project.

In the visual preferences of the Cumhuriyet, a few questions about what modernized social life is may be answered. There are also references about the superstructural change experienced by the newly established country. Reflections of social life revolutions in the visual language of the newspaper were mostly in the field of gender. It was possible to see some women who were dressed in western style and self-confidant, on the front page of the Cumhuriyet unlike old days. The Cumhuriyet organized a beauty contest, in which Turkish girls could also have participated, and then a voice contest for ladies. The news about these



Figure 8: The Cumhuriyet, August 26, 1930 - "Lets see who will win the race!"

competitions and the photos of the candidates had been in the headlines of a quality newspaper for days (Figure 9). Yunus Nadi's editorials on the contests will be more significant when evaluated with the Cumhuriyet's will to change the status quo of women in the field of gender. It can be said that the newspaper, which started to publish pages of women, culture-arts, sports, and children since the 1930s, is one of the locomotives of revolutions in social life.


Cumhuriyet
Ses Kraliçeliğine 6 Namzet Ayrıldı
Cumhuriyet
SES KRALİÇESİ KİM OLACAK?
Cumhuriyet
H. Fırkasında 7 Encümen Teşkil Edildi
Pek yakında: "Onların Romanı" Akagündüz'ün şaheseri

Figure 9: (from left to right) Issues of the Cumhuriyet, dated November 29, November 28 and November 9 in 1930



Figure 10: The Cumhuriyet, November 15, 1930 - Some advice to women from the beauty queen Miss Mübeccel

In Yunus Nadi's words, one of the primary goals of the newspaper is to turn the Cumhuriyet into a family newspaper. However, it seems that the woman's place is still her home even for a newspaper fighting for gender equality. According to Nadi, "*In the women column, the subjects that concern every woman who can read and write will be discussed. Here, housework, child-rearing styles, fashion and similar issues will be shown to the women* (Köktener, 2004: 21–22)". In accordance with this purpose, the newspaper asks the "beauty contest champions" to tell the women lifestyle.

The Assessment of the Sample in Terms of Typographical Preferences

Newspaper pages in the analyzed period were published only two years after the Alphabet Revolution. The typographic preferences of the newspaper should be



Cumhuriyet

Dün Akşamki Mühim Tevkifat

Memleketin mlaî şerefile oynıyan mühim bir Borsa acentası ve beş altı şeriki dün akşam geç vakit zabıta tarafından tevkif edildiler

"65„ milyon Marklık İstikraz

Fethi Bey Balıkesir'e geldi

S. F. lideri bugün öğleden sonra Balıkesir'de bir nutuk söyliyecek

Güzellik kraliçeliği

Bu sene emsalsiz bir güzel intihap edelim

Güzeller şimdiden resimlerinizi göndermiye başlıyınız

Gazi Hz.

Cumhuriyet

VAR OL, GALATASARAY

M. Venizelos geldi, Ankara'ya gitti. Türk – Yunan donanmaları arasında müsavat esası iki hükûmetçe kabul edildi

Medeniyet ve ağaç

M. Venizelos dün geldi

Yunan Başvekili halkımızın dostane tezahürleri ile karşılandı

M. Venizelos Haydarpaşa'ya çıktı, hükûmet namına istikbal edildi, Hatboyu'nda selâmlandı, hususi tren bu sabah 9,30 da Ankara'ya varacaktır

Galatasaray, Yunan takımını 5-1 mağlûp etti

Sarı-Kırmızı takım, dün bir azim ve fedakârlık harikası yaratarak muzaffer oldu

Figure 11: September 12, 1930 and October 27, 1930 issues of the Cumhuriyet

evaluated in this context. As it is mentioned in previous lines, it is not possible to talk about a consistent selection of typefaces that can be described as typographical consciousness for these reasons. The inconsistencies of the typefaces within themselves give the impression that some designed letters were drawn by hand. However, it is also noteworthy that the Cumhuriyet's designers applied some consistent strategies to make the newspaper readable, such as preferring the use of different typefaces in the headlines and subtitles. A consistent preference observed is the use of different text colors, especially in the front-page headlines (figure 11).

Especially in headlines sans-serif typefaces are preferred. Red, dark blue, green and yellow font colors are selected from time to time in contrast with the subtitles or the head title. It is possible to see this as an effort for the newspaper to boost the extremely limited contrast distribution.

In addition to the use of generally miniscule, 6-column, sans-serif text as the headline preference, majuscule and even italic majuscule options were applied from time to time. It is not possible to give consistent information about a standard size determined as a font size. Therefore, it can be said that a typographically complex and eye-tiring page design was made in comparison to criteria. It is possible to claim that the sense of integrity in the page design is damaged due to the use of different typefaces side by side as well as the font size. In addition, there is a single word that should not be in the page design, what we call an "orphan" or a "widow," is left alone in the upper line or falls on the lower line. In addition, grammatical problems are noticeable and errors requiring correction, such as the misspelling of the word "mali" even in the subtitle of the newspaper heading September 12, 1930, in the figure 11, frequently occur.

Conclusion

In the visual design of the newspapers, it is aimed to achieve functional and aesthetic goals. At the core of the functional goals are concerns such as presenting the content in an order that can be easily perceived, establishing a hierarchy between the news stories. At the core of the aesthetic purpose, there are some requirements, from maintaining the visual bond with the (imaginary) reader to designing a page in which the content draws attention and can be easily distinguished. Even though page design has some basic rules, it leaves room for the designer. There are quite number options for the designer to fill in a blank white page: The first thing to think is about how to write the stories formally. Generally, process of page design is set out by determining typographic preferences, which can be called the presentation of the text, which includes the chosen typefaces, but corresponds to a broader meaning. Photos, illustrations, caricatures and drawings are other visual materials that can be used in a page design.

The sample period examined in this study covers a special process for the history of Turkish journalism. How the idea of modernization in the mind of the founding fathers was translated in newspaper pages is rendered possible to some extent in this article by decoding the visual codes of these pages.

It is also understood that the Cumhuriyet is more than a passive observer in this process. On the other hand, it is also evident that the Cumhuriyet is not a penny press that only informs or entertains its readers through news. As a newspaper the Cumhuriyet organizes beauty and voice contests. It gives its readers various gifts to encourage them to learn the new Latin alphabet. Its women's page teaches the new Turkish women the modern life. The Cumhuriyet supports the language revolution by publishing the original Turkish words produced by the Turkish Language Association (Köktener, 2004: 70).

Looking back from today retrospectively, it is worth talking about even only the part on gender of these visual elements. For the first time, some women photos who are dressed in modern style published newspaper pages. It is possible to say that this kind of visual preference makes it legitimate and ordinary for women to be included in social life for men who comprise the dominant readership of the newspaper. For women, these visuals were implying that wearing skirts and being present in social circles where men and women co-exist did not mean unchastity.

The Republican elite cut down to size the opponents, especially in illustrations and caricatures. The rituals of the newly established country such as the Victory Day and the Independence Day, as the comparison of the old and the new are explained with visuals on the first page. In a society with low literacy rate, the

visuals have played an important role in the penetration of the symbols, rituals and concepts of the new mindset into the public. "*For photographic images tend to subtract feeling from something we experience at first hand and the feelings they do arouse are, largely, not those we have in real life* (Sontag, 2005: 131)". In short, the visual elements preferred by the Cumhuriyet in page design have a conscious and strategic role in popularizing the revolutions and conveying them to the mass who has the potential to reach the newspaper.

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Filiz Yıldız & Onur Dursun

Turkey and the West in the Case of +90 YouTube Channel

Introduction

Nowadays, with digitalization, the course of alternative news diversifies and proliferates. While mentioned courses multiplying quantitatively, news approaches like selection and presentation of subjects are undergone partial changes, compared with mainstream media. Videlicet, these changes, though developing new perspectives and approaches, cause existing problems to reproduce or emerge new problems. Developing digital communication technologies rise new opportunities for international media organizations to execute non-institutional news practices in different foreign countries.

The number of international media organizations, such as BBC Turkish, Euronews, Sputnik, and broadcasting/publishing via Internet in Turkey has increased recently. As a subject of this study, +90 YouTube channel commence broadcasting in 2019 as a new and different example of such. The channel has various features regarding form of ownership and creation of content. Spearheaded by German public broadcaster Deutsche Welle (DW/Germany) and in collaboration with international public broadcasters BBC (England), France 24 (F24 / France) and Voice of America (VoA / USA), the channel may have different purposes. Apparently, it isn't possible to say that this channel was established for commercial purpose. Limbourg, representative of DW, stated, "There is great international interest for this country. We would like to contribute better understanding by offering a platform for dialogue and involving the audience in ways we haven't done before," (Grosse, 2019) and "We are already employees of four known public broadcasting media organizations. We will continue serious and unbiased journalism despite unhappy people about that. However, we are proud of our editorial independence" (Sarı, 2019). As stated by Limbourg, while aforementioned organizations operating for public service, they are economically powerful and prestigious organizations in their countries (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980; Tekinalp, 2003; Yanardağoğlu, 2013). The discourses of representatives make us think that their aims are telling the unspoken in mainstream media, bringing on disregarded/ignored subjects and enlightening the society (BBC, 2019).

Turkey carries importance for the founder of the channel's countries. For the USA, culturally and geographically in close relationships and interactions with Europe, Turkey is important due to geopolitical significance for reaching the Middle East and neighboring to Russia, a strong competitor. Eric Phillips, representative of Voice of America, states this importance, "Turkey is a very important country for the US that's why we are so enthusiastic about this project." (Sarı, 2019).

Turkey, located in a territory where Asia and Europe meet, has a population of 82 003 882 as of late 2018. Young population, between 15 and 24, amounts to 12 971 396 (NTV, 2018). High ratio of young population, the fact that the young raised by Western values, that they can use technology well, and that they can somewhat speak a Western language are other reasons making Turkey important for the West. These young population contains potential producers and consumers. From this perspective, Turkey makes an impression of increasing importance and influence (Independent Turkey Commission Report, 2004).

In the Eastern and Southeastern line, Turkey shares borders with Syria, Iraq and Iran. Things do not seem on track in these countries and the countries beyond them. Circumstances, like domestic disturbance, war, nuclear manufacture threats, causing the world, particularly Europe, to wince, remain constantly. In this regard, Turkey is a cultural and geographical buffer. Damage to this buffer would impact many countries that are strong in the area, mostly Europe (Poyraz, 2016). This could possibly be seen in the Syrian refugee crisis. Istanbul Policy Center Expert Prof. Dr. Cengiz Aktar (as cited in Poyraz, 2016) states that 45–50 % of Turkey's import-export is with Europe, which amounts to a trade volume of 135–140 billion euros. Aktar, notifying that Europe's direct investment ratio is 65 %, informs that Europe sees Turkey, along with Russia, as easterners that are unpredictable but need to be kept under control. For these reasons there mustn't be turmoil in Turkey, Turkey's current structure must be maintained, it mustn't stray from liberal Western policies and not head towards the East in the heat of the political and cultural climate changing since the 2000's – a tendency for which there are symptoms (Independent Turkey Commission Report, 2004; see Sinkaya, 2011). Therefore, Turkey's cultural adaptation to the West regarding governance and life-style must be kept alive and continued. Gallagher Fenwick, the representative of France 24, utters mentioned case, "We are here to create a platform allowing people to communicate, to bond among those unable communicate each other, and to ask questions instead of impose ideas." (Sarı, 2019).

This study focuses on the +90 YouTube Channel in the pivot of the thoughts recounted above. The study firstly presents Turkey's relation with the West through westernization or modernization process. Subsequently, the West's

efforts to keep Turkey in their orbit have been mentioned. The study examining press/media's evaluation from the Ottoman Empire to our day, addresses media's experience of globalization especially after the 2000's, meaning international global media companies' entrance to the Turkish market, by drawing parallels to globalization and political transformations of Turkey. In the analysis section, +90 YouTube channel, qualified as a product of the West's efforts to keep Turkey in their own economic and cultural track, is questioned whether the channel produces Western values through evaluation of its content, founding purpose and motives. Likewise, Limbourg, the representative of DW hints at the cultural harmony, "Germany is interested in Turkey, Germans are interested in Turkey. We wish that there would be a good dialog among our people and they understood each other well." (Sarı, 2019). Furthermore, in a news of *DW* (Grosse, 2019) "Opening a window to Europe", the information given below shows mentioned purposes:

The project is part of *DW*'s 2018–2021 Strategic Plan, which states, "contrary to the hopes of many, the Turkish government now leaves little doubt about its authoritarian course." DW seeks to represent European values in socio-political issues in Turkey, the plan says.

Theoretical Background

Turkey's Westernization Adventure

Turkey has a history being a Western type state for around one hundred years. However, Turkey's modernization dates back to the 17th century, paralleling the West. The beginning of the Ottoman period of political and economic stagnation in the 17th century, along with losses of land, started the Turkish modernization period (Berkes, 2002: 41–63; Karpat, 2008: 20).

During the 18th century, the West was followed in terms of technical innovations; Western culture was seen as a rescue. However, cultural interaction and transformation started in the 19th century (İnalcık, 1964: 42). In the first quarter of the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire sent intellectuals to West in order to understand it from every aspect. They aimed to especially learn the war techniques to avoid the losses of land. Furthermore, Europe's systems of law and education (Findley, 2011: 153–157; Fortna, 2008; Mardin, 2011), its literature (Ahmad, 2010: 45), clothing style (Taş, 1989: 535) gradually gained prevalence. Moreover, Chamber of Translation was founded in Bâbıâli in 1822 (Mardin, 2011: 152).

19th century was an era of fast Westernization. Charter of Alliance in 1808, the Imperial Edict of Gülhane in 1839, Edict of Reform in 1856, Basic Law in 1876, and parliament first gathered in 1877, contain traces towards a European style of society. However, the main fracture came with the founding of the Republic of Turkey and the reformations that followed (Müftüler Baç, 2005). A nation, ruled and lived by Sharia up until the 20th century, transitioned into a democratic/Western style governance and started the process causing important changes in all structures of society (Kalaycıoğlu, 2016: 7).

The founding of the Republic on 29 October 1923, defined new principles, gave sovereignty to the public, prioritized public interest, regarded nationalism for the perpetuity for the nation-state, made the state superior to all and saw reason, science and art necessary for development. Firstly, the caliphate was removed in 1924 despite objections of certain sects because of the position's meaning of Turkey's leadership in the Islamic world. Moreover, Islamic monasteries, zawiyas, shrines were shut down in 1925. The same year, clothing style was arranged. Various steps towards internationalization were taken; international time and calendar was accepted in 1925, and international numeral system was adopted in 1928. A lot of legal regulations were realized; many democratic rights were given to the citizens from 1925 to 1935.

The biggest coordination with the West took place in the field of education. The Law on Unification of Education, which gathered all education and training under one roof, went into operation in 1924. Madrasahs, which mainly gave Islamic education, were closed and institutions with Western style education were established, minority and foreign schools avoided religious and political education. The biggest Westernization move was the switch to the Latin alphabet in 1928. Turkish Historical Society (1931) and Turkish Language Association (1932) of modern qualifications focused on scientific research. The establishment of universities and faculties followed these reformations.

Turkey's process of adaptation to Europe/the West continued from the early period of the Republic until today. The transition into the multi-party system between 1945 and 1950 and the election of the Democrat Party in 1950 are part of this process. Important steps towards Western integration, or forming an alliance with the West (Sinkaya, 2011: 82) were Turkey's United Nations membership in 1945, agreement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1949, NATO membership in 1952. Turkey's first attempt for European Union (EU) membership on 31 July 1959 is the most tangible declaration of the aim of being a part of Europe. Turkey signed Customs Union Agreement with the European Union in 1996 and gained the official candidate status in 1999. 'EU – Turkey Accession Membership' was accepted in 2001 and it was agreed upon

that negotiations would start in 2004 on the grounds that Turkey ensured political criteria. Full membership negotiations started in 2005. 16 phases of the 35 articles of the negotiation titles were started, yet only one of those is completed till today (DW, 2017). Turkey-EU relations came to a breaking point since 2016.

Turkey continues its attempts to officially become a part of Europe in a bureaucratic/administrative sense despite setbacks. Additionally, Turkey's participation to almost all of the organizations by European countries is an indicator of Turkey's interest in Europe. Turkey joins a multitude of organizations from sports to song contests. For example, Turkey is one of the first countries, which joined European Football Championship and still participates. Likewise, it was accepted into the Union of European Football Association, and participated Eurovision Song Contest (even though it hasn't participated in the recent years). These are only a few of the important steps taken towards cultural integration with Europe.

Western Interest in Turkey

The Ottoman wish and attempts to westernize are not one-sided. 19th century is a period where the West also showed increasing interest in the Ottoman Empire or Anatolia. The Ottoman Empire's establishment of Western type institutions included those forced by the West. Because it is impossible for the West to give up on or keep quiet about the developments in Anatolia which harbors diverse cultures, which has been a home to many civilizations, which has been an important center to the Roman Empire, and where Asia and Europe are closest. For example, Western countries' idea of sharing Ottoman land started in the 19th century and lasted for long years. European countries such as Germany, France, England, Greece and Italy launched expeditions for claiming Ottoman lands. So much so that during the War of Independence, the land of Turkey has been actively divided (Uçarol, 2008).

Today, Turkey's land would not be target of such division among European countries. Western interest in Turkey today is rather based on economy, policy, and security (see Sinkaya, 2011). Today, Turkey ranks 16th in population and economic power, and 32nd in land size out of 185 countries. Its proximity to the world's most important oil reserves in the Middle East and the Caspian Basin, its location in the Mediterranean Sea which is significant in marine transportation and natural gas, its Black Sea cost, its straits, its borders with the Balkans and Caucasia which is known for its ethnic diversity, its connection of three continents, its status as European, Asian, Caucasian, Middle Eastern, Mediterranean, a Balkan and a Black Sea country all at once make Turkey

important in the international field. Additionally, it relates culturally to countries of the Balkans, the Middle East, Caucasia and Central Asia, and maintains good relationships with this geography. It leads in UN and NATO efforts for defense, regional security and stability, and has strong Armed Forces (TASAM, 2011).

With a population of over 83 million, Turkey surpassed Europe's most crowded country, Germany. In the event becoming an EU member, it would have the most chairs in the parliament. However, from a different perspective, it is a good market for European countries. Moreover, any negativity in Turkey would start to show its effects in Europe first. Therefore, Turkey needs to stay on a specific track, and should not pose danger to Europe and the West. The USA's interest in Turkey is based on accessibility to Middle East and neighboring Russia, the USA's rival. Any internal turbulence in Turkey would distress Europe, and the USA in the Middle East. Thus, Turkey's continued cultural, political and economic inclination to liberal policies is desirable.

Evolution from Press to Media in Turkey: Conglomerates, Monopolies and Global Fund

Theories of modernization attribute a great role to media. Said theories consider mass media as a field for enlightenment for underdeveloped or developing societies. Lerner (1958) attributes a significant role to mass media in replacing traditional societies' old-fashioned traditions and customs with the values of modern culture. According to Lerner, it was mass media that spread the notion of modernization, to which the upper classes showed interest in early periods in the Middle Eastern countries, among the general public. Such a notion of modernization can be found in each period of the history of Turkey. For example, press took an important part in circulation and internalization of new values to a society transitioned into a new regime with founding of the Republic of Turkey. Press has been seen as a tool in the establishment of reforms and the continuity of the regime (Güngör, 2010: 10).

The first newspaper in Turkey is *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* starting publishing in 1831. *Ceride-i Havadis, Tercüman-ı Ahval, Tasviri Efkâr, Muhbir, Basiret* and *İbret* are some of the newspapers, which came out in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century (Ertuğ, 1970; İnuğur, 2002; Koloğlu, 2006; Topuz, 2003). People who laid the foundation of the press in the Ottoman Empire received their educations in the West, especially in France and started press and publishing activities upon their return.

After the founding of the Republic, *Cumhuriyet* (1924), *Vakit* (1934), *Akşam* and *Zaman* (1934), *Vatan* (1940), *Hürriye*t (1948), *Milliyet* (1950) newspapers

started publishing (Topuz, 2003, 162–191). In 1986, *Voice of Turkey Radio (Türkiye'nin Sesi)* and in 1968, T*urkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT)* were founded. First private television, Star TV, started broadcasting in 1990, and *Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK)* was founded in 1994. These developments can be counted as important events in the history of press in Turkey.

If we were to define a historical starting point regarding the context of the main subject of our study, it would definitively be 1980s. Because, before this date, press was dominated by journalist families, and after that it started to be controlled by the funds outside of press. Neo-liberal economy policies changed the ownership structure of press (Adaklı, 2006: 135–140). According to Adaklı (2006: 140), in concordance with the new world order, capitalism, decisions prepared by Turgut Özal on 24 January 1980 laid the groundwork for the structural transformation of press in Turkey. Thereby the possession of the press passed to fund holders. Erdoğan (2002) summarizes the process as:

> During the process of monopolization, in countries such as Turkey which employed liberal policies since the 1980s when globalization activities gained pace, political powers empowered investment groups through incentives, loans, etc. (. . .) Groups in possession of the media tried to dominate both the political field and the private sector with the power that came from monopolization. Alongside these developments, investments in the media field increased swiftly. The share of the field of communication within the transportation sector in which it is included rose from 14.2 % in 1980 to 20.9 % in 1996. Private sector investments in transportation and communication, which constituted 9.7 % of the total volume of investment in 1980, rose to 17.6 % in 1996. Along with investments, companies grew. At the same time, monopolization within the market spread (. . .) (p.419).

Start of *Star TV*'s broadcast in 1990 paved the way for private broadcasting in Turkey, the count of private radio and televisions started to rise quickly afterwards. In the 1990's *Doğan, Bilgin, Aksoy, İhlas* and *Uzan* groups maintained their prevalence amongst the media in Turkey, while at the end of the 1990's *Doğuş, Çukurova* and *Park* groups entered the media market (Ilgaz Büyükbaykal, 2011: 27). As of 2012 *Çalık, Ciner, Çukurova and Doğan, Doğuş, Feza, İhlas, Koza-İpek, Samanyolu, Saran* media groups and media organizations such as *Albayrak, Haydar Baş*, *Kanal 7*, *Karacan*, *Power* and *Spectrum,* print media was also dominated by *Albayrak, Ciner, Çalık, Çukurova, Doğan, Feza-Samanyolu, İhlas, İpek-Koza* and *Karacan* groups (Dursun, 2012).

Today, according to the Media Ownership Monitor (MOM, 2019), prepared by Bianet and Reporters Without Borders, media organizations in Turkey are listed as *3N MEDYA, Albayrak Media, Ciner, Demirören, Doğuş, Estetik Yayıncılık*

A.Ş., Feza Publications Inc., Hayat Görsel Yayıncılık A.Ş., İhlas, Kalyon, Koza-İpek, MN Yazılım Medya Reklam A.Ş., Türk Medya, Yeni Gün Haber Ajansı Basın ve Yayıncılık A.Ş. The report informs that media in Turkey is predominantly monopolized horizontally, details that 60 % of print media, 83 % of the Internet, 40 % of radio, and 44 % of television is horizontally monopolized. In the report, it underlines that the media organizations in the top 10 have close relationships with the government, it is discovered that the audience ratio of television close to the government is 45 %, this rate is 73 % for news portals, 52 % for newspapers, and 42 % for radios (MOM, 2019).

As of 2019, 71 % of the audiences are divided among four media groups. These groups have each invested in at least three of the media of radio, television, newspaper and the web. *Turkuvaz/ Kalyon* group has the largest audience (30 %), followed by *Ciner* (15 %). *Demirören Group* is third (15 %). The report indicates that 9 out of the ten newspapers with the top 10 circulation; on radios which are most listened to, 9 out of the ten most watched TV channels (except for *FOX TV*), 7 out of the 10 digital news portals most clicked on (except for (cumhuriyet.com.tr and sozcu.com.tr, memurlar.net) are in general parallel with the president, the government and the policies of the Justice and Development Party (MOM, 2019). This situation prevents the opposite wing to make them heard while opening up the media market of Turkey for the global capital. Global media corporations or public broadcasters embraced the code of the classical Western democracy narrative swarmed Turkey.

Globalization, despite making itself apparent in the 1980's, in fact originates from way back, paralleling technological developments and advancements of communication tools. Samir Amin expresses that humanity has been in the process of globalization, which means circulation of goods and people in the world, for two thousand years, even though the concept includes variations today (as cited in Tutal Cheviron, 2014: 32). When we see globalization as social mobility, exchange of goods, cultural or intercultural interaction and change; 15th century, an era of geographic discoveries and invasions, 16th century when economical commerce developed in the Mediterranean region and communication tools developed, 19th century when fast developments in transportation took place are important historic points in the process of globalization (Tutal Cheviron, 2014: 33–35). However, globalization became a current issue for societies in the 1980's through the foundations of Internet technology and developments in information technologies in the 1960's. One of the main areas where this concept has been studied intensely was indubitably the area of mass media.

Neo-liberal economy policies after 1980 and the concept of globalization, increasingly gained traction after the 1990s, created an unequal structure where

a few giant media organizations gained dominance over the world of transnational communication. 2019 data suggests that 8 out of the 10 biggest media corporations (*AT&T (USA), Walt Disney (USA), Comcast Corp (USA), Charter Communications (USA), Twenty-First Century Fox Inc. (USA), Thomson Reuters (Canada), CBS Corporation (USA), WPP Plc. (UK), DISH Network Corporation (USA), Viacom Inc. (USA)*) in the world are from the USA, one is from Canada and one from UK. (Investopedia, 2019). Media organizations within Western states, possessing economic and political power worldwide, direct the flow of information internationally based on their own power relations (Budak, 2018: 345). Today, taking an active part in the flow of information on national and international levels carries vital importance for political powers and states. Yanardağoğlu (2013) explains that states put effort into becoming active in the transnational information field in order to elude pressures forced upon nation-states by globalization.

Even though international media organizations entered Turkey, as part of the globalization process is the 2000's, foreign media organizations broadcasting in the Turkish language date back to the first half of the 20th century. First broadcasts were via radio. On November 20, 1939, the *BBC* established its Turkish broadcast service and aimed to protect the public opinion in Turkey from German propaganda. In order to break German propaganda spreading at the time, it increased the durations of its Turkish broadcast (Yanardağoğlu, 2013). Another organization, *Voice of America (VoA)*, started to broadcast for propaganda and for protection of the US interests in the region on February 12, 1942. America intended to protect Turkey from the danger of communism within the scope of the Truman Doctrine and started Turkish broadcast services (SETA, 2019). According to the culture agreements between the USA and England, *VoA* and the *BBC* were authorized to broadcast and organize via Turkish radios (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 357–358). Yanardağoğlu (2014) explains the reasons behind *BBC* and *VoA*'s broadcast in other languages as:

> England is the first nation to see this new medium as a social manipulation tool and not just as entertainment. . . . During this era where national media systems were generally "state monopolies", transnational broadcasting institutions such as *BBC World* and *Voice of America* [VOA] supported basic rights such as "freedom of speech", "freedom of press" and "democracy" in their broadcasts in foreign languages against the danger of communism. . . . *BBC* and *VOA*'s short-wave radio broadcasts in the Cold War era continued in order to both 'change the flow of opinion in the target country' and to 'break the monopolies over information (p.123).

From 1999, foreign corporations started to enter the media sector of Turkey. In this sense, the first foreign capital entry was established by Time Warner

with *CNN Türk*. *CNN International*, established in 1985, started broadcasting in Turkey under the name of *CNN Türk* as a result of an agreement with Doğan Media Group (Akfırın, 2012: 38; Kaya &Altuğ, 2017). *TGRT (Türkiye Gazetesi Radyo Televizyonu)* owned by Huzur Radio TV Inc. within İhlas Holding was sold to the News Corporation in 2006. USA based News Corporation (Newscorp) started its *FOX TV* broadcast over TGRT's frequency on 24 February 2007, (Akfırın, 2012: 40–41). On 30 January 2010, another foreign broadcaster named Euronews, known for its activity in Europe, started broadcasting on the basis that it would contribute to Turkey's EU membership, that it would develop international broadcasting in Turkish, and help promote Turkey abroad (SETA, 2019). There is legal statue to facilitate and to encourage the foreign media capital into media sector in Turkey. For example, while the limitation of share of foreign capital was 25 % in the act on Radio and Television Establishment and Broadcasting (Law number: 3984) coming into force in 1994, in a change came into force in 2011 (Law number: 6112), the limitation of share of foreign capital was increased to 50 % (*https://www.rtuk.gov.tr/mevzuat-3725*).

There are also internet-based news portals broadcasting in Turkish. First of these was the *Ntvmsnbc*, founded by a cooperation between *Doğuş Group, Microsoft and NBC*. It started broadcasting in Turkish in 1999 and is the first web site launched by cooperation with global capital. However, as a result of *Microsoft* selling all of its *MSNBC* shares to *NBC*, *NTV* decided on a new roadmap and decided to continue broadcasting on ntv.com.tr. *Sputnik* is another foreign organization broadcasting in Turkish. It was founded on 10 November 2014 by Federal State Unitary *Enterprise Rossiya Segodnya International News Agency* (MIA Rossiya Segodnya), based in Moscow. Sputnik, also having representation in important regions throughout the world such as the USA (Washington), China (Beijing), France (Paris), Germany (Berlin), Egypt (Cairo) and England (London and Edinburgh), started its broadcast in Turkish the same year. England based journal *The Independent*'s Turkish service started in 2019. *The Independent*, having more than 100 million worldwide readers, broadcasts in Turkish online at www.independentturkish.com. *The Independent Turkish* reaches its followers under the slogan "Speaks Your Language" and broadcasts under the licensing agreement signed by Media Arabia, which is under the Saudi Research and Marketing Group and Independent Digital New & Media which is owned by Russian businessperson Alexander Lebedev. Chief Editor Nevzat Çiçek cites their broadcasting criteria as "correct, unique, respectable" and explains the purpose and operation of the web site as "We will not be one of those whose reporting is ideological, triggering or in favor of certain people. We will not hesitate to raise

voices when appropriate. We will pave the way for multivocality and always be on the side of the news" (T24, 2019).

Even though actions of the foreign-global media organizations in the media and entertainment sector of Turkey are generally financially motivated, they create a significant impact on the culture of Turkey, and aim to keep Western life-styles and ideas alive. +90 YouTube channel, which started its broadcast in 2019, is the best example of this. In as much as, +90 YouTube Channel discussed in this study is not a private enterprise. Commercial media organizations indubitably attribute importance to financial value. International commercial media companies principally commence the business for profit and then they, deliberatively or unconsciously, cause cultural transformation. However, this is not the case for +90 YouTube Channel. Its economic and political goals may be long lasting, but it is not rationale to think that its main goal is to profit in short term. The discourse of Limbourg, the representative of DW, stating "we may make news on the interest of our countries, but this will not change our messages. This reality has to be understood well. Even though there will be differences between them those differences will enrich news content. In any case it is what we seek for." emphasizes its broad size aim (Sarı, 2019).

Deutsche Welle Turkish alleges that Turkey-EU relations are at a point of blockage because of economic and political reasons. *DWT* suggests that Turkey is below EU average on budget deficit, rate of unemployment and foreign debt, etc. It says that Justice and Development Party government made a decisive effort for EU membership at first, but that Turkey moved away from European values in the recent years. According to *DWT*, Turkey is criticized by the EU on issues such as freedom of press and speech, rule of law, separation of powers, and transparency (*DW*, 2017). Moreover, Turkey's turn towards the East as its relations with the West got complicated caused the West to seek new ways of keeping Turkey on their track.

In every historic period, the medium's transforming power over society's cultural structure of social consciousness can be seen. However, it wouldn't be false to suggest that the main fracture took place in the 15th century. This century definitely carries importance from multiple angles. Geographical discoveries, the Renaissance and the Reformation, and Gutenberg's technology of press make this century important for social transformations. Steinberg speaks of a necessity to consider press' effects on political, ecclesiastical and economical situations in order to understand sociological, philosophical and literary movements correctly (Eisenstein, 2010: 149). Transition from tribal society to contemporary societies was established through press and the printed word. It was literacy that laid the foundation of today's contemporary societies (McLuhan, 2007). Ong,

who analyzed the situation in terms of word and writing, says that the difference between literate and illiterate consciousness is the skill of conceptualization by emphasizing the ephemeral nature of the spoken word, and suggests that the literate consciousness has a greater capacity to conceptualize, and therefore its capacity and ways of thinking are more advanced (Ong, 2010: 107).

Objective and Scope

Objective of the Study

In the study +90 YouTube Channel commencing broadcasting in 2019 is addressed. The purposes of four major foreign public broadcasters (BBC, France 24, Voice of America and Deutche Welle) for establishing a YouTube news channel are examined in the context of relationship between Turkey and the West. In this study, it is aimed to examine that the channel is whether a segment of construction/reconstruction of long-lasting historical relationship between Turkey and the West or the sequel of it, as referred in theoretical section. In other words, it is tried to probe, whether or not, the channel's motivation is to modernize the Turkey via media and hold the Turkey on Western Values. Above, the information about the aim of the channel is tried to clarify with the discourse of representative of the constituents.

Methods and Samples of the Study

After the 1980s resulted with economic and political transformation, commercializing, convergence, digitalization and concentration of the Western media have changed media practices, ownership structure and broadcasting/publishing approaches. On the other hand since 1980, as part of European Union Communication Policies, cultural-oriented Public Service Broadcasting has been adorned with some values. Namely universal access, addressing various tastes and interests including minorities, serving to public sphere, education-oriented broadcasting, non-proximity to any group, commitment to public and being contact with audience came into prominence. Similarly, in 1994, European Council specified the goals of public service broadcasting as producing context for all public members especially for women, reflecting the whole ethnic structure and multi-culture via addressing the minorities, focusing on both national and European heritage, bringing on tastes and interests neglected by commercial broadcasting organizations, constituting public debate sphere via pluralistic-reformist and unbiased programs (Gencel Bek, 2003: 34; Köse, 2007: 244–245).

The importance of journalism approaches and practices based on civil liberties and rights in global media era are emphasized more each passing day. Alternative perspectives and news production practices are achievable by use of peace journalism, alternative journalism, right-based journalism, human rights journalism instead of news practices based on elitists, neglecting varieties, determined by power relationship, profit-oriented news practices on main stream media (Alankuş, 2016; Baştürk Akça, 2008; Shaw, 2011). In other words, based on the belief of a possibility of different journalism, it is corresponded to a journalism approach, which ever name you call it, which does not conduct abuse of rights, which struggle to establish peace instead of inciting wars and conflicts, which boost representation opportunities, enable to announce problems and demands of groups who are incurred discrimination such as the disabled, the deprived, refugees/ asylum-seekers, minorities, the LGBTIs, children and women. Likewise, Alankuş (2007) states that right-based journalism has a meaning beyond human rights journalism:

> "The first stop a journalist/correspondent is the right-based journalism with three pillars. In a word, those are journalism which not ignoring abuse of rights, which not standing by to make a news for 'the others' to be a victim of infringement of rights or to be a perpetrator of it and which not conduct abuse of right while making news" (p.22).

In international area, the problems of traditional journalism approaches and practices are voiced frequently, and it is offered some suggestions for an alternative journalism approach. In especially western states, on meetings, reports and many academic studies of nongovernmental organizations and trade bodies, a rhetoric, in national and international area, gains importance for a journalism field which oversees individuals' democratic rights, which pursues for problems, which considers sensitivities, demands and expectations of the public, which not include abuse of rights and hate speech (White, 2011; Rose, 2012).

In this study with given facts, descriptive-interpretive analysis is conducted with qualitative data collection technique. In this context, the content of the channel is evaluated and analyze titles are identified. For determining the analyze titles, content of the channel and discourses of the representative of the constituents are used. Thus, five main titles are determined: Human Rights, Women, LGBTI Rights and Lives, The Youth's Concerns and Expectations for the Future, Environmental Problems and Glorification of Pastoral Life. It is assumed that these titles are, as mentioned above, subjects related to the western culture and lifestyle and they are, if not contextual but principal, western states' expectation from the media. It is understood that European states, while having discrepancies among themselves about public broadcasting, try to ensure some

mutual principals and missions. Being joint venture of four major representative of public service broadcasting from different countries, +90 YouTube channel is considered that aforementioned values are part of the content within the scope of broadcasting policies seeing that, considering the content of the channel, named subjects are main theme of it.

Within this scope, news videos that were aired since the first day of +90's broadcast, 29 April 2019, until 31 August 2019 are taken to be important source for data in order to answer these questions. A total of 60 news videos were aired in a 4-month span by the channel taking its name from Turkey's international phone code that is +90. The channel has 136 thousand 660 subscribers as of 3 September 2019.

A Different Model of International Media Cooperation: +90 YouTube Channel

When internationalization process, which gained traction in the 2000's, and Western media giants' active role in many parts of the world are considered, YouTube Channel +90 must be evaluated as a development significant to the media's economy policy in Turkey and media-power relations. The channel constitutes the first international media cooperation. Each broadcaster's strong public broadcasting model in the world and in their country brings significance to this cooperation. Also, the choice of the Internet without legal restrictions and audits, and the platform of YouTube which is used most actively by the young population bring to mind what reasons and purposes brought about this sort of journalistic act. As a matter of fact, in the press conference, the representatives of the four partners emphasized concepts such as pluralism, multivocality, different perspectives and mainstream media's questioning attitude, and their view of this partnership as a foreign intervention and having malicious intent against the government. In the promotional video of the channel with the slogan "+90, connect to the objective agenda", the broadcasting objectives are explained as:

> "Not to judge, but to eliminate prejudice . . . Not to change your opinion, but to create space for different points of view. . . Not to speak on the behalf of others, but to let everybody speak for themselves. . . Not to provide the right answers, but to ask the right questions. . . Not to dictate, but to listen" (+90 YouTube, 2019).

In their statements of goals and objectives, +90 YouTube partners underline that they have priority goals to reach the youth in Turkey. As a matter of fact, data on the age range of social media users in Turkey show that they are between the ages of 18–34. "Digital in 2019" report prepared by We are Social and Hootsuite

announced that there were 52 million active social media users in Turkey, 63 % of the population. The same study declares that 24 % of young between 18–24 years, and 33 % of young between 25–34 years use social media actively. In 2019, most utilized social media platform was Facebook, followed by YouTube (Global Digital Report, 2018). With this fact in mind, it can be proposed that the channel may actualize its purpose of reaching young mass. Likewise, YouTube's participatory culture-based structure turns users into producers while facilitating user reactions and comments (Kuyucu, 2017). This YouTube structure is also capable of answering to +90 news channel's desire to be in dialogue and interaction with followers. DW Director General Peter Limbourg states that they are going to work on creating an objective and independent perspective in Turkey, and explains their reasons for caring about the youth as:

> Young audience is really important to us. Thus, we are on YouTube. I hope that young people are more open minded on the subject of new perspectives. Another important point is this: Turkey and young Turkish audience have many ties with the countries of Germany, France, the US, England, where we come from. That's where the importance of dialogue lays (BBC, 2019).

By referencing the reporting perspective expressed by YouTube channel +90's management on multiple platforms, this study seeks to answer the questions of which subjects were prioritized since the first day, what kind of news narrative and format is adopted, what types of news are broadcast in order to influence and interact with the youth. News are listed under 16 categories based on their subjects. News categories are: *Working Women, Environment and Climate, Health and Nutrition, the Unemployed in Their Field, Those Who Escape the City, Human Rights, Women+, Single Motherhood, Economy, What Is?, The Most Watched, Music's +, Sports' +, Rainbow's +, Unforgotten Legends and Unseen Heroes*. When these categories are examined, it is observed that the categories are economy, sports, arts and life. When the news content is analyzed, it is interesting that social issues such as various forms of discrimination, unemployment, sexism, environment issues are approached through human stories. Actors included in them are ordinary citizens or members of disadvantaged groups unlike elitist centered news perspective of mainstream media (Rigel, 2000, 189–194). More importantly, YouTube channel +90's news doesn't use voice-over text, frequently used in audiovisual news, but they give the news subjects the opportunity to tell their stories. It is understood that the channel mostly creates content which feature Western values. When YouTube channel +90's content is analyzed in general, certain values that are also valued by the West come to fore during the recent years.

Findings

Human Rights

Human rights constitute one of the categories of the +90 YouTube channel. European Union, European Court of Human Rights and Western centered media organizations are able to evaluate non-Western countries' governments' attitudes on certain issues. The fact that such a field was highlighted within the channel's news categories can be seen as an attitude, compatible with and contributing to this "sensibility". There are, as well, discourses in line with revealed case in the foundation purpose of the channel: "Our four media outlets will provide a comprehensive offering of news, partly with the aim of strengthening freedom of speech and the press…" (Grosse, 2019). When news in this category are gazed upon, problems of refugee children in Turkey, the Uyghur Turks' struggles for life, LGBTI individuals' life stories, child brides, and in the context of gender inequality, a women's movement in France and Saturday Mothers are reported on. News in this category include Woman+ and Rainbow's + categories as well. It is contemplated that issues regarding women and LGBTI individuals are included in the category of human rights because they often include right breeches.

Refugee problem is told through children's life stories. Two related news stories were encountered within the examined dates. One of these was titled "Their Dream Is to Return to Syria". In the story, 16year-old Muhammed Haydar El Abid's daily life, longings and problems in a foreign country are told. Muhammed Haydar, working in a restaurant, expresses joy for having a job, how their life was turned upside down by the war that broke out in their country, and how they wish to go back one day by his words. In the news story titled "Refugee children who can't go to school", written text is used to state, "Because of the ongoing 8 years war in Syria, according to the United Nations data, 5,6 million people had to leave their homes. 3,6 million of these people are hosted by Turkey." In a Western channel, Turkey's approach to Syrian refugees and this positive emphasis are remarkable. Also, deprival and poverty of education faced by the Syrian refugee children, news actors in these story, are expressed from their mouths. Children included in the news story are those who can't go to school because they have to work. Written text states that only 40 % of Syrian refugee children have the opportunity to get an education. In the news about the hard life conditions and the struggle to earn a living of these elementary school aged children, the scale of child labor is emphasized by also referring to expert opinions. The news story about Uyghur Turks' struggles in Istanbul can also be

included in refugee problems. The tragedy of families who escape from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China to come to Turkey constitutes the subject of the news story. The story describes the persecution and longing for the Uyghur Turks in the "retraining camps" established by the Chinese government. As in the other news, this news also includes the words of the victims and they tell their stories in their own voices.

In the human rights category, Saturday Mothers were the subject of another news story pointing out to the Western perspective. Given the fact that Saturday Mothers, looking for children, siblings or spouses who disappeared in detention, have carried the case files, it solved in domestic law, to the ECHR, the interest of a Western media channel on this issue is clear. As a matter of fact, the ECHR, treating cases of disappearance as a human rights infringement, has examined 116 out of 253 files of missing persons and found that 78 % of the cases included violations of the European Convention on Human Rights (Bianet, 2019).

The news on the subject describes that they were banned and confronted by security forces in August of 2018 after gathering every week since 1995. The style adopted in other news of the channel also applies to this. The struggle of the members of the Saturday Mothers to find their losses is told through the story of the siblings named İkbal, Cemile and Faruk, seeking their disappeared brother Hayrettin Eren for 38 years. The siblings are children of Elmas Eren, the recently deceased figurehead of the Saturday Mothers, who is publicly known as 'Mother Elmas'. In the report, while presenting slices of life from the days when the family lived together, the actors explain the pain, despair and uncertainty they have experienced for years after the loss in their own voice. The news text is written in a subjective language and contains statements aimed at making the voices of the missing families heard. The story reported that the majority of the disappearances were of "Kurdish and left-wing youth, and that there was a violent intervention against left-wing individuals after 1980".

Another news in the human rights category was presented under the title "Women who married as children speak". The news story mentions that in some regions of Turkey child brides are still common. It is considered that this problem, seeming to be under the category of women, is included in this category because it contains a basic human rights violation. This is because child marriages continue as an important social problem and rights violation. In the news structured through the stories of women who had to marry relatives or strangers, the marriage of young individuals who have not yet attained psychological maturity is emphasized as a violation of children's rights. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) data, 23 906 out of 569 459 official marriages in 2017 included brides between the ages of 16–17. This figure corresponds to

4.2 % of the total of marriages. According to UNICEF data, close to 650 million women and girls are married before the age of 18 worldwide.

This news story, the voice of women who found themselves in a married life without their consent, even without awareness of their situation, emphasizes that this is a violation. G.F. addresses girls to say “don’t get married, don’t give up the fight”, and explains the abuse of her parents-in-law as:

> “When I was 15, they said ‘you are engaged’. . . He was my uncle’s son. . . I wasn’t aware of any of this. Before 8 months finished, I became a mother. I birthed a 7-month-old child. I was given to an unemployed, previously convicted spouse. My father-in-law was cruel. 12 kids. Two mothers in law, I didn’t know what to do. I had to ask permission to feed myself. I used to wash dishes until midnight.”

Sultan Tümerdem is another woman who was married as a child. Tümerdem says, “I was married. I had no idea. I was a child. In fact, I thought I would be returned when they took me, when I got married. But they didn’t. A year later I had a son. I was also a child. My spouse was 9 years older. I had only seen his photos.”

The news story also includes expert opinions about the losses and problems that are created for the individuals who are married young. Dr. Yunus Emre Ayna makes a serious warning: “About the damage, first of all these are children. It is a kind of child abuse and psychological torture for children who have not completed their physical development, and who have not completed their mental and social development, to take responsibility for a marriage, a spouse and a child while they still see life as play in their playing age. Violence is a step towards the de-identification of the individual.”

It is emphasized in the news story that the education of the girls who are married as children will be incomplete, that they can only enter low status occupations even if they can work, that it is only appropriate that the individual gets married after completing their education, and their physical and mental development. The news story is viewed from the perspective of the child brides, the victims, and a news narrative is set up to raise awareness on this issue. In the news, negative experiences related to the subject, which are the factors that strengthen the rhetoric and raise awareness, have been applied to support the subject with scientific data by applying expert opinion. The news under this category is mainly the subjects of EU’s focus. In general, the issues of EU’s recent warnings to Turkey are in the context of human rights (BBC News, 2015).

Women

Democratic, participatory and egalitarian practices of media are crucial in order to prevent inequality towards woman and discrimination based on social gender. The subjects like equal and sufficient representation of women on media, giving place to inequalities to which women are exposed in society, women-based content productions and equal access[1] to new communication technologies come forward during legal regulation implementations and right-based studies held at civil society in the western societies having entrenched background about women movement and struggles for women rights. Moreover international charters and international documents indicate gender equality, a fundamental human right. In the degrees of European Union and European Council, legislation for media categorized under the four titles: gender equality, prohibition of discrimination, women representation and reinforce to women (Büker, 2018).

+90 YouTube news channel focuses on news about problems and inequalities faced by women in the public and private sphere. Under *Women+*, two headlines of working women and single motherhood are used to discuss inequalities and problems based on gender discrimination in patriarchal society. Working Women section includes life stories of women who have achieved success in professions, thought as unsuitable for women because of gender roles and stereotypes. For example, YouTuber Saniye Anne ("Mother Saniye") is one of these women. After the age of 70, Saniye Karataş reached more than 350,000 subscribers in her channel titled 'Saniye Anne Yemekleri' (Mother Saniye's Dishes) on YouTube where she shares her recipes in an entertaining style. Of course, the news story is consistent with interestingness, which is a basic criterion of news values. However, more importantly, a woman above middle age, after the economic problems, had experienced, goes viral and becomes a content creator on social media by defying stereotypes, and the news story includes messages of empowerment with this regard.

Another news story in the working women category tells how long-distance captain Kamile Koç reached the profession of her childhood dreams despite objections of "what are you doing in a man's job?". News story gives the message that women have the strength to overcome social pressure and male dominance and to reach their dreams in their profession. A similar situation is told through

1 In the context of European Union for practices to give equal access to new information see Binark (2005). "Türkiye'de Yeni İletişim ve Enformasyon Teknolojilerinin Kullanım Pratikleri ve Dijital uçurum" Mine Gencel-Bek and Deirdre Klein (Ed.) In *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'de İletişim Politikaları: Pazarın Düzenlenmesi, Erişim ve Çeşitlilik* (pp.159–212) Ankara: Ankara University.

the first gyrocopter manufacturer Burcu Aydemir's success story. Aydemir says to all women "You will follow your dreams. You will not give up."

Another series of news of the +90's *Women+* category are the videos broadcast under the title "Single Motherhood". The news stories in this series are presented under the titles "The future does not scare me", "Widows are second-rate citizens", "Not Needing a Man. . .", "Are we alone now" and "Our life changed 180 degrees". This series where women relay their changing lives after divorcing or losing their spouses emphasizes the hardship of deciding on a divorce and living alone as a woman, but also gives the message that it is a way out to end bad marriages for the women's and children's continued health. Women who express their emotions with the words "Nobody wants the established system to break" say that the decision to leave home and start over empowered them despite the difficulties they faced. Işıl Candan who says "The future does not scare me" said that she had to save her child from an unhappy home, and that spiritually, she felt lighter after her decision.

At the same time, the life stories presented in this category point to stigmatization and discrimination as "widowed women" in the patriarchal social structure as lone women's common problem. Women who are news subjects say that they were exposed to sexual harassment or demands of flirtation after their marriage ended, and that other women approached them as a 'potential threat'. Some wore wedding rings to hide that they were single; some were heartbroken that their women friends tended to keep her from their spouses. One of the heroes of the single motherhood news category, Ayşe Karasulu explains her emotions as:

> "I lost my spouse at a young age. I was left alone with my son. I didn't feel the death because of my anxiety about how I could raise my child. All my anxiety was what could I do when left in a society conditioned for men. First, I became a very good economist because of poverty. Fathers turn out to be very important. . . I understood this when I lost my father. I was inadequate for my son. I am aware of this. Today's mothers are freer, more independent; they are individuals, not patriarchal. We couldn't be individuals. Those around me couldn't tell me to get married because I was young. I didn't let them. If I got married and they gave my son the side-eye that would hurt me. The gaze of my environment changed. I was young, 32 years old. One day my friend asked me to leave her house in case her husband came. Widows are second-rate citizens. Was I a candidate for such a thing? You can't wear revealing clothes. . . How simple honor turned out to be."

Single mothers' anxieties of inadequacy in raising children without fathers and the children being central in their lives come to the fore in the news stories. Women who are the news actors say that they made this decision to raise their children in a more peaceful environment. But they all had the anxiety of 'what

if I am not adequate for my child on my own'. Violence victim Kader Kar had an arranged marriage not to hurt his father. Her father said that her ex-spouse was a 'good person'. She says 'Good person does not mean a good husband'. She didn't have any economical difficulty while married. However, when her spouse turned to violence, she left home with two little children. In order to sustain herself and raise her children she worked many jobs. Kar expresses her thoughts in the news as:

> "My mother would take care of the children and I would work until midnight. I did promotions in booths. I had house workers while married, I started going to houses to clean when I got divorced. I didn't mind. I saw my children very little. The two children went to school alone. I couldn't even take them to school. I couldn't be there for them. I couldn't greet them when they got home. I still have it on my conscience."

Another single mother, Aylin Başkurt tells that she learned to drive after divorcing her husband, alcohol addict. Başkurt says 'My two children and I are happy in our home of three'. The news in the category of single motherhood, contrary to the widespread attitude of the media that subordinates women, gives the message that women who have been subjected to injustice and violence in their marriage can continue their lives independent of a man through the life stories of women subjects. The news also reveals a woman-centered approach, unlike the mainstream media that circulates dominant ideology of glorifying the family and the institution of marriage.

Among the news presented in the category of Women+, another news topic is women who are exposed to mobbing in their work. The news story about Teacher Özlem Tolu's and Engineer Tülin Yıldırım's psychological harassment in the workplace expresses that all employees can actually be exposed to this problem. This news is an example of the fact that some of the +90 news stories are placed in more than one category. In other words, the subject of this news is in the category of Women+ since two women are the victims of mobbing, but it is also in the "What is?" category because it discusses the concept of mobbing. In the news, citizens are asked "what is mobbing" in street interviews. Most of them state that they haven't heard of this word, but that they were exposed to psychological pressure in the workplace. The story also contains information about the mobbing clinic founded within the Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine, first in Turkey. The women's psychological pressures and their fight for their rights include expressions, aimed to raise awareness and encouraging workers who are in this situation. The news brings mobbing to the agenda as a frequently

encountered problem in work life and carries rights-based journalism narrative and style.

LGBTI Rights and Lives

Rainbow's +, which is one of the news categories of the YouTube channel +90, consists of the news that shed light on LGBTI problems and that inform about some concepts within this context. There are two news stories in this category. They ask citizens on the street 'What does intersex mean?' and 'What Does It Mean to be a Trans Woman?' and they tell life stories with these gender identities.

It is observed that the channel adopts a journalistic perspective devoid of heteronormativity. The news story "What does intersex mean?" explains the problems and social exclusion of the intersex individuals, the I's of LGBTI. The news story is again constructed around a personal story. In it, Aziz Işık, who lives in Urfa and whose identity card is appointed as pink, speaks of struggles since childhood, and information about the concept of intersex is heavily featured. The story explains intersexuality through the popular gender symbols of man and woman Barbie and Ken, with the words 'when it comes to gender, there are people who are not exactly like Barbie or Ken'. They try to explain United Nations' description of intersex and try to explain the concept with an understandable language with the aid of animations. In the story, there are no prejudiced statements against intersexuality and it is emphasized that 1,7 % of the world population are intersex. It warns parents to notice their child's situation early and seek expert help without wasting time.

In the news that also includes information about how intersexuality was approached in the historical process, it is told that there was no surgical intervention until the 19th century, but that medical and surgical interventions started after the development of gynecology in the 19th century. The story highlights that today, parents have their children go under surgery out of shame and that some of these children do not accept this identity at a later age, and that these surgeries without their consent at these ages are seen as a human rights violation. Today, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and some states of the USA legally recognize the third gender option. However, dual categorization of gender as man and woman is dominant worldwide. Therefore, the approach of the mainstream media possesses heteronormative journalism that encodes homosexuality as a disease or perversion. On the contrary, the aforementioned news story has a human oriented approach with informative content, alternative narratives, and styles of explanation.

The other news story in the Rainbow's + is about trans individuals. The news story titled What Does It Mean to Be a Trans Woman? tells the story of the 31-year-old trans woman Berfin, and seeks answers to the questions 'What does it mean to be trans?' 'How is it noticed?' 'How is the sex reassignment surgery done?' The story is also a detailed report about transgender identity and the violence and discrimination faced by trans individuals. Berfin, who says she noticed her interest in men in high school, explains the process she went through as: "Middle school ended, in high school years, I noticed I felt somethings for men. My mother realized my situation when she discovered my make-up. At first, she acted cold. But after a short while, with the influence of conscious women around her, she changed 180 degrees. She started buying me women's clothes. I started getting emotional, my breast grew, my skin fined down, my hair grew richer, my calves and hips grew wider when I started hormone therapy. My hairs changed." When Berfin decided to have surgery, she moved to Germany. She had psychological support before and after gender reassignment surgery which is a routine process. She studied two universities in Turkey. She is a graduate of Fine Arts and Art History departments. When asked whether she has difficulty in work and school life, she says "I didn't get promotions because of it. If your photograph doesn't match the name on your CV when you send in a job application, you never get a response. In a public office or a hospital, you encounter transphobic employees. You are faced with a problem in every area of life".

The news draws attention to the fact that suicide rates are high among LGBTI individuals because of exclusion and violence. So much so that among post-surgery trans women, suicide rates are 20 times higher than other individuals. On the other hand, it includes information about different policies and legal regulations regarding trans individuals in different countries. In doing so, expert opinion is also addressed which relates the current situation of trans individuals living in Turkey to the gender and sexual identity policies of the government. Dr. Yener Bayramoğlu says "The society grew more conservative in Turkey, which produced discourse and policies that reshaped the conservative view from gender to sexual policies since the start of the Justice and Development Party's reign",and emphasizes that trans women's biggest demand is about legal regulations.

According to the news, World Health Organization 2016 data reports that around 0,5 % of the world population are trans women. Trans Gender Europe 2018 data says that there were 369 murders of trans people in the year of 2018 worldwide. The news story which emphasizes that trans sexuality is not a choice but a gender identity, audience is asked to question their prejudices through these words, "Nobody goes through a series of surgeries and go through this

much trouble just to do something wild. Maybe one of the reasons of the violence and discrimination faced by trans individuals is lack of adequate information about them. Would you like to question your prejudices after this video if you have them?"

The Youth's Concerns and Expectations for the Future

As YouTube channel +90's primary aim is defined as reaching young people, youth is also a news category in the channel. Nevertheless, unemployment issue, which is one of the main problems of the young population in Turkey, is tackled under the category "Unemployed in Their Field." In the press conference Eric Phillips, representative of Voice of America, stated that they wish to reach young and influential people in Turkey: "VoA's approach is 'digital first' and via YouTube we hope to reach young, influential people. It is paramount that they can express their opinions freely." (DW, 2019). At the same conference Angus, representative of BBC, stated that they have been in Turkey for 80 years and asserted the following:

> "We thought what we could do to reach Turkish audience and Turkish diaspora16 months ago. Audiences in particularly the young watch YouTube. . .We care too much to reach Turkish audiences. Turkish population rises a young generation who are curious about the world. They wish to see how the others regard to Turkey. I think this is the main drive of this project" (Sarı, 2019).

The news stories in this category examine the issue of unemployment through problems of young people who are graduates of universities' psychology, sociology, biology, econometry, labor economics, public administration, environmental engineering, mechanical engineering, fine arts, political science, nursing and mathematics departments. The news subjects are young unemployed university graduates and each one's struggle to hold on to life are told through their voice. Amongst these young people there are those who participated in international exchange programs or received master's degrees from important universities of the world. For example, Yıldız Teknik University political science and international relations graduate Alper Ada of 26 years old participated in Erasmus Exchange programs in his graduate and master's education in Slovenia and Belgium and studied in the field of European Union. He explains that the has been searching for a job for a year and complains that employers seek experience. He filed over 500 applications but only had 10 interviews.

Another news actor, psychologist Esra Gürkan works in the human resources department in an insurance company.34-year-oldGürkan expresses her discontent in not being able to work in the field she studied in, "Being a psychology

major graduate doesn't mean you're a psychologist." Gürkan mentions that psychology graduates can mostly find work in private education institutions and nursing homes, says that it's important for these institutions just to use the diploma. According to Gürkan, it is almost impossible to continue to postgraduate education. She filed applications in the past but they resulted negatively. Gürkan alleges that in most universities the choice of postgraduate students isn't fair and that she is saving money to get her master's abroad.

Mechanical Engineer Efecan Erkaya, who has been searching for a year, is one of the young people who cannot find a job in his field. He returned empty-handed from 6–7 job interviews. He speaks of his interest in the field since childhood. Erkaya considers mechanical engineering as a popular and persistent profession. Stating that his inexperience was held against him in job applications, he says, "I want to work because I am inexperienced. I can't get out of the paradox I'm in".

In the news stories where the despair and frustration of the unemployed youth is told through their stories, it is emphasized that working abroad is seen as a remedy. Mathematics Department graduate Kübra Gençtürk expresses that she thinks that the criticism towards young people who wish to live abroad is wrong by saying "Efforts and journeys of people who want to work abroad should be considered before they are labeled as traitors. We're all on the same ship. Nobody wants to damage this ship. However, after a while, the game is played individually."

It is remarkable that the negative situation experienced by the young population in Turkey is emphasized when a media organization of international cooperation mentions an issue as important as unemployment. The news stories contain critical discourse from the voice of the news actors who live through struggles of searching for a job.

Environmental Problems and Glorification of Pastoral Life

The environmental news are in the "Environment and Climate" category in the YouTube channel +90. The news stories under the title "Those Who Escape the City" draw attention within the news of this category. Within this context, the stories of individuals who left everything behind by moving away from the congestion of big cities to choose calmer lives intertwined with nature. This point of view that glorifies natural life reminds of Herbert Gans's (1979) emphasis on the small city pastoralism as he outlined the news criteria of American media, one of which is "Small City Pastoralism". According to this idea, the news encourages lifestyles intertwined with nature away from crowds in less populated areas.

"Those Who Escape the City" category carries this attitude of encouraging pastoral life through people who prefer such a life.

The news stories in this category are presented under the titles of 'From businessperson to shepherd', 'A new life in Seferihisar', 'Simple life Trabzon Kireçhane Village'. Hayrettin Çağrı Ezerer, a former soldier and businessman who settled in a technology-free area in the Taurus Mountains after losing his family members one after the other, gave up his entire career and started a farm. Here he began to do agriculture and livestock farming. After questioning the meaning of life after the losses, Ezerer says, "One can achieve everything they want and can conceive of without exception". He says he hasn't read the newspaper or watched television in 18 years, and that he finds plenty of opportunity to read and write in mountain life. Ezerer expresses his contentment with his new life with the words "I am in love with the problems of mountain life". Former journalist İdil Güngör is another person who ran away from the city to choose the natural life. After working as a reporter, corporate communications director and editor for a publishing house for many years, Güngör tells that she decided to settle down in Seferihisar after asking what kind of life she wanted.

Açelya Gültekin, who suddenly left her costume design job in the big city and settled in a village in Trabzon, says she chose a simple life. Gültekin, produces various objects with felt and earns a living by selling them on social media. Gültekin says she feels happy to feel far from the system in village life.

Environment and Climate category also includes a news story on nuclear energy. The story titled "Turkey's nuclear adventure: Everything about Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant" contains an environmentalist narrative. The report discusses the issue of nuclear power in the Akkuyu region of Mersin, which has been caused public reactions for a while. First of all, the people of Mersin are asked what they think about the issue. Microphones are directed to the people of Mersin who say they do not want the nuclear power plant in their region.

The story contains historical background on Turkey's nuclear energy adventure and consults in critical expert opinion. Anti-Nuclear Platform member activist Uğurhan says that nuclear power plants harm nature and human beings, and that there is an increase in childhood cancer and leukaemia in the regions of power plants. According to Uğurhan, 80 % of the people of Mersin do not want nuclear power plant in their regions. Uğurhan stresses that the police have not allowed anti-nuclear protests in the last 2–3 years. Additionally, while the negative effects of the nuclear power plant are listed in the story, it is also mentioned that people in the region do not want the nuclear power plant as agriculture, fishery and tourism sectors will be damaged.

The news story explains nuclear central's operation process via animation and gives the message "Large scale energy means large scale risk. The process is no different than dropping an atom bomb in a small area." Energy Specialist Prof. Dr. Tolga Yaman comments "The probability of an accident in the centrals is 1 %. This is a political choice, not a necessity." The story with critical content on Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant also draws attention to the subject of nuclear waste and the uncertainties about risk management.

Conclusion

Our study focuses on international cultural capital's entry into Turkey. The process started after the 2000's in a capitalist sense. Firstly, media organizations that entered the Turkish market in cooperation started to stand on their own. There may be various reasons in the entry of foreign capital into a country in any field. Or, some cases may create different reasons for the foreign/global capital to enter into a country.

There are a variety of reasons behind foreign capital's entry into the media of Turkey. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter of the study, the population and lifestyles of Turkey are of importance for Western countries. In addition to its ability to internalize Western values in a short amount of time, Turkey also has a cultural structure that could reproduce these values. Namely, this structure was built through means in the historical process. However, the political mobility that started in the 2000's in parallel with the developments in the world has created new appearances in all areas of society. Regime change, Islamic capital gaining traction, and political power gradually strengthening, have polarized the society. Society has been divided into two poles: the power and its opponents. This process has also had an impact on the media. Opposition media and, of course, opposition groups have been weakened by the inclusion of public broadcasting institutions as well as private broadcasting organizations in the orbit of political power. Media policies have made the flow of information in society unilateral.

The abovementioned process is behind foreign/global media's intense entry into Turkey. The media of Turkey has become a field of activity for global media organizations with the slogans that the dissident wing cannot make themselves heard. In other words, political and economic policies regarding the media resulted in the global broadcasting organizations' appearance in Turkey. Loss of trust in national media organizations gave foreign broadcasters rightful reasons. Broadcasters such as FOX TV, Euronews, Sputnik, The Independent, YouTube channel +90 created a space for themselves and are continuing their broadcasts with the purpose of filling this gap in this particular area of media in Turkey

through the discourses of raising the voice of those who can't, addressing the youth, speaking of rights violations, giving visibility to disadvantaged groups.

Findings of the study show that the channel contextually and formally displays western oriented journalism approaches that pervade recently. In detail, as +90 YouTube channel choose the subjects on the problems to which disadvantaged groups are exposed such as abuse of rights, unemployment, poverty, refugeeship, on gender based discrimination, on environmental problems and instead of superficial contents prepared fast and desired to be consumed easily by the main stream media, channel makes comprehensive news. Furthermore, using news sources like ordinary people who are shown rarely in the main stream media, constructing news contents on the sources' life story and expressions, abstaining commentary based content despite of the main stream media show that it avoids elitists journalism.

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Recep Ünal & Ahmet Taylan

Confrontation of Media Professionals with New Production Styles: Opportunity or Threat?

Introduction

As new media and information technologies become widespread, both the way of our getting information is changing and the amount of information we are exposed to is increasing. On the one hand, the news production process is transformed; participatory and personalized forms of content production are turning journalism away from being a profession where only professionals are involved, and they are relatively democratizing it. On the other hand, the sharing and consumption styles of the news are redefined in a very different, broad and complex context from the old ones. In this context, the debates on the future of journalism are shaped by a wide range of approaches, which declare the death of journalism or talk about the crisis of journalism, to the ideas herald that journalism will be carried by new technologies to a new stage.

So, what does the debate about journalism and the future of the profession in the new media climate mean for media professionals? Undoubtedly, considering the impact on the news production process, new communication technologies facilitate the work of news professionals, making work practices in the field and newsrooms faster. However, on the other hand, as a result of the convergence, the employment area is shrinking due to reasons such as the integration of newsrooms, the increasing workload of journalists with the expectation of multiple skills and the increasing weight of the artificial intelligence in the editorial processes.

In this study, in the context of current debates about new types of journalism, which emerged through new media and information technologies; opinions and recommendations of media professionals regarding the future of the news media and production practices of professional journalism in Turkey will be discussed. Hereupon, in-depth interviews with 11 professional journalists will be conducted with the professional newsroom employees of mainstream and alternative media organizations to be determined by purposive sampling; and questions will be sought to answer how and to what extent new forms such as robot journalism, algorithm journalism, interactive journalism, data journalism affect professional journalists and how to transform news production practice.

In the light of this search, the strengths and weaknesses of new news production practices compared to traditional journalism in the new media period will be discussed, and whether there are any advantages and disadvantages of these practices from the point of view of media professionals. Based on the data to be obtained as a result of in-depth interviews, this study aims to reveal how new forms of journalism create opportunities or threats to journalists' professional careers.

In the current literature, it is seen that the transformation process created by new forms of journalism is mainly discussed in the axis of consumer behavior and the rise of the user. The originality of this work is that it addresses the said transformation from the eyes of professional journalists and in the context of their sectoral experiences and working practices, and it embodies this review with concrete examples of the media sector in Turkey.

Journalism as a Profession: End or Progress?

New media and information technologies have created a synthesis of contemporary digital forms that rapidly change the way conventional journalism and news are produced, presented and consumed online. With the active use of these technologies, journalists working in online newsrooms have had to closely watch not only their competitors but also their readers. It has been discussed that many skills/functions of journalists regarding content production have been taken over by users. "*The Internet has challenged virtually all aspects of journalistic gatekeeping concept. Online, almost anyone can send news and views around the world, and sometimes it seems as if almost everyone does*" (Williams and Carpini, 2000: 66).

For this reason, journalists have had to develop new skills to proactively report on the content preferences of their readers by consuming data at unprecedented speed and in detail, as well as integrating and evaluating user-generated content with professional codes. Currently, journalists are required to simultaneously reach the maximum number of visitors, target specific types of users with specific expectations, address their likes, and maintain editorial quality.

Vin Crosbie divided the development of new media-based journalism into three waves and he stated that the first wave, which lasted from 1982 to 1992, started with experimental publications, and then was dominated by companies such as AOL and CompuServe; in 1993, the second wave began with the introduction of news institutions on the Internet and since 2001, when wireless and broadband broadcasts were made, the third wave had been promising a stronger,

sustainable and profitable period than the previous periods and the gap between mass information and individual information would be removed. (Pryor, 2002)

Obviously, approaches that announcing "the death of journalism" have often become controversial as the decrease of a gap between mass information and individual information and the growing importance of the user, the spread of social media and blogging, and the increasing participation of user-derived content. Although this development seems to be the result of new media and information technologies, it is important to remember that every new media technology has raised similar concerns in terms of journalism throughout history.

> "Almost a century ago, the journalists of the world were in a panic. The validity and values of the newspaper, which had withstood the rise and fall of civilizations for hundreds of years, was being challenged. What was this new specter that frightened the media world in so many ways? It was the radio. After the initial excitement wore off, however, the newspaper journalists began to fear for their profession. (. . .) And yet, the newspaper survived. Why? (. . .) While the radio allowed for instant transmission, it didn't allow for the same depth or detail in articles that the newspaper did. In this way, rather than one medium replacing the other, news organizations adopted them both. Journalism didn't die. It evolved, and it evolved quickly" (Paine, 2015: 2–3).

New media and information technologies make the news more accessible for everyone while allowing users with a smartphone and Internet connection to produce content. It is a must to note that the dotcom burst, especially in the early 1990s, has not only resulted in a sectoral change but also an individual change process for journalists.

> "For a couple of years at the end of the 1990s, the world of journalism went crazy. (. . .) Newspapers were terrified that the Internet would steal their readers and their classified advertising, so they even started creating websites for advertisers to try to keep them loyal. Magazines rushed to create new identities on-line and in multi-channel television. Television piled into interactive services, to head off the Internet challenge. And just about everyone thought about merging to deal with the much proclaimed 'convergence' of digital technologies" (Hargreaves, 2005: 126).

It is clear that the debate that each new genre of media emerging with the development of technology will replace its predecessors and perhaps eliminate them is not exclusive to today. Today, we are discussing whether the newspapers will disappear after a while with the spread of new media. However, there is a significant difference between these discussions and what has been done so far; and this difference is that we are discussing the future not only of newspapers but also of journalism as a professional profession.

It is possible to determine a point largely ignored by the approaches that claim the death of journalism This ignorance is that one's "hunger for awareness" will

never end. We are not in a position to easily do without journalism, which has been meeting the hunger for awareness as a professional for centuries. Because, if we take into consideration the period before professionalization, the efforts to meet this need date back the existence of humanity. "Journalism has been around since people have been known to share information about themselves with others" (Zelizer, 2004: 2). Therefore, our need for news is not a recent phenomenon and will continue as our social life continues. For this reason, although we acknowledge that the forms of news production and consumption differ, it is possible to foresee that systematic and institutional news production will never disappear.

On the other hand, even if it is argued that new information technologies have paved the way for new channels of expression regarding direct democracy, it is possible to say that journalism is still an important segment for the viability of democracy as these channels have not yet become widespread all over the world. "In particular, journalism is seen as intrinsically tied to democracy. It plays a key role in shaping our identities as citizens, making possible the conversations and deliberations between and among citizens and their representatives so essential to successful self-governance. In short, news is the stuff which makes political action [. . .] possible" (Wahl-Jorgensen; Hanitzsch, 2009: 3). In journalism, the evolution of production practices has influenced the nature of journalism discourse. "Habermas and others, some contemporary political theorists have heralded the network's inherently communal nature as the foundation for a new `electronic republic'. They have seen the medium as enabling citizens to `gain admission to the political realm' and retrieve the power stripped from them by the flawed structures and strictures of representative democracy" (Grossman, 1995: 6). This has led to a conflict between sectoral conditions and approaches that deem journalism necessary for the formation of civil society and a healthy public sphere. Therefore, in the history of journalism, there is always a tension between professional ideals of news production and sectoral conditions.

News production and sharing in general, and journalism in particular, are seemed to be accelerating due to developments in information, broadcasting and telecommunications technologies. This speed has led to an enormous increase in the amount of information we are exposed to. The most obvious reasons for this increase are likely to be called as digitalization and convergence. The convergence points to the "technological and economic integration of industries such as computing, audio-visual media, telecommunications, and creating new products and services" (Geray, 2002: 19).

> "With the convergence, which is also referred to as the ability of different communication platforms to carry similar types of services, three different fields of broadcasting (newspaper, radio, television), telecom and computing industries are intertwined. (. . .) Digitization is the concept that makes convergence possible. When audio, video and texts are numerically coded, they can be integrated on the same platform. The convergence also enables the new media to produce and distribute data processed by voice, image, text and other elements. (. . .) This process ensures that information is produced in a multi-faceted way and distributed/presented with the same versatility" (Yıldırım, 2010 : 231).

Dailey, Demo, and Spillman define 'convergence' by placing it on a dynamic continuum that contains the overlapping levels of cross-promotion, cloning, co-opetition, content sharing, and full convergence and so they provide a model through which media professionals can assess their convergence efforts. Dailey, Demo and Spillman's model is a dynamic example that defines convergence as a series of behavior-based activities that illustrate the interaction and cooperation levels among staff members at newspapers, television stations, and web organizations with editorial partnerships: "The convergence continuum provides a conceptual framework for understanding convergence by identifying five stages of activity among news organizations. These stages – the 5 Cs of convergence – are (a) cross-promotion, (b) cloning, (c) coopetition, (d) content sharing, and (e) full convergence" (2005: 153–154).

As the model by Dailey, Demo, and Spillman show, the integration of newsrooms as a result of convergence is effective in enabling journalism to gain new forms, especially through the use of multimedia, and to differentiate the content production and distribution of media institutions. Another factor that is effective in this is that the same developments have transformed the reader/viewer. Traditional readers/audiences have now become 'users' and, they are not only more demanding but also can now actively manage the process by producing content themselves. "Audience expectations are also evolving. Audiences are increasingly accustomed to and demanding news that is customized to their interests. (. . .) Technology is also reshaping the relationship between journalists and their audiences, producing a more interactive form of journalism. In the traditional world of media, interactivity is almost non-existent, limited for the most part to a few letters to the editor. In the Internet age, many journalists are in almost daily email contact with at least some audience members" (Pavlik, 2004: 28). Bowman and Willis (2003) also emphasize the growing importance of online users: "Armed with easy-to-use Web publishing tools, always-on connections and increasingly powerful mobile devices, the online audience has

the means to become an active participant in the creation and dissemination of news and information."

Schrøder is another researcher who points out the transformation of media consumers. Schrøder investigates how members of the public make decisions about what news to engage with as they surf a high-choice media environment across multiple devices and platforms. He says that "members of the public can highly effectively articulate the role that news plays in their lives, and that relevance is the key concept for explaining the decisions they make in a high-choice media environment" (Schrøder, 2019).

Masuda (1980) argued that the information age would lead to a greater social transformation than the industrial revolution, which would involve a change in the time-dependent system of material production, a transformation of values from free competition to synergistic economic system, from a parliamentary democracy to participatory democracy. In this period, the technological changes such as the convergence of telecommunication infrastructure and computers, digital devices produced and their integration (for example mobile phones can perform camera functions), as well as economic changes such as the transition from the mass production and 'stable production to the flexible production system whose production content is rapidly changed.'

On the other hand, content production techniques are differentiated in parallel with the multimedia structure formed as a result of the convergence. Numerical technologies and convergence have changed the way that news is presented to consumption as well as news production in journalism. As newsrooms have become integrated, the conventional newsrooms used for newsgathering and writing, and the techniques and methods used here, have now expanded to include the ability to 'present' news online. "Content production and distribution together with integrated newsrooms emerge as an integrated business practice. Integrated newsrooms, by their nature, require multiple skills. In this sense, the integration in newsrooms contradicts some of the traditions of conventional journalism. In addition, the continuous updateability of the content that comes to the fore with the Internet is among the distinctions between the integrated working system and traditional journalistic traditions with more speed and more work" (Singer, 2005: 179–182).

We are now talking about the presentation techniques of news instead of classical news writing techniques. These changes, which open up a new field for journalists, reshape the look of journalism in many ways. The structures of newsrooms, journalistic practices and the content of the news are completely transformed.

> "Convergence is reshaping the landscape of journalism and the news media in o variety of ways. Newsroom structures, journalistic practices, and news content are all evolving. Perhaps most importantly, the fundamental relationships between and among journalists, their sources and their audiences are undergoing a technological transformation. (. . .) Technological advances simultaneously present new opportunities to improve newsgathering, by enabling journalists on deadline or on a budget to cost their newsgathering net more widely to include non-traditional sources or experts located in far-away places" (Pavlik, 2004: 28).

News writing techniques are also evolved in parallel with the evolved newsrooms. Instead of reading the content of Internet users at length, we are witnessing new techniques that are developed in the context of speed browsing habits. These techniques stand out as presentation techniques rather than writing. For example, the reverse pyramid technique provides the details after a two-sentence entry that includes the most important elements and results of the news. Another commonly used new model, the T model, sums up the story and generally explains "why" it happens (the horizontal line of T). In this model, which does not require the conclusion of the incident at the end to make the reader read the news from the beginning to the end, while the summary of the news with two or three sentences that explains the main points of the incident creates the upper line of T model, the detail part of the news explaining how and why the incident is formed creates the vertical line of T.

The online pyramid technique is a technique that makes it possible to implement distributed production over the network instead of production at the traditional newsrooms. In this technique, an introduction paragraph with headline and important points of the news is placed on the top page of the website; for the details of the news, links are given to one or more layers. Although this technique is similar to the inverse pyramid style, multiple layers and web pages are used here, so that each linked layer does not need to be written by the same journalist. Properly structured, effective news pyramids allow you to dig into the details of the event with options for surfing on the news. Since this technique also addresses people who want to see only the main idea of the text on the pages they surf, the reader has the chance of easily browsing the news and accessing all the details of the news by clicking on the layers.

The recent news writing techniques, which are briefly exemplified above, are practical results of the integration of the different parts of content production. Almost every media organization has three activities in terms of operation: information gathering, news production, and distribution. Gathering information and creating content by the journalists of the media organization that is essential in the traditional news production process. However, most online news

corporations cannot establish their news organizations in the short term – which is not necessary in some cases. For this reason, many online news sites benefit from news agencies that have much larger information gathering networks. They are also able to compile news using information flowing from online sources, databases, e-mails, and users themselves, as well as their resources. On the other hand, although most of the online news sites have news editors, they sometimes do not have a journalist staff, or on the contrary, each journalist also has editorial functions. In fact, depending on the preferred business model, new positions are emerging in the organizational structure:

> "Publishers hunting for membership revenue need to test, develop and distribute new kinds of content for a specific pocket of their audience. That's given rise to new kind of role, the membership editor, which a growing number of publishers are trying to fill – and figure out where to stash – within their organizations. (. . .) Those roles, both those that are filled and those that are open, have a lot of the same responsibilities: Connect with product, marketing and editorial colleagues; develop messaging and distribution strategies for content; develop ways to market membership products" (Willens, 2019).

The increasing importance and participation of users in content production have changed the role and position of editors and journalists, as well as the use of new possibilities such as artificial intelligence in content production.

> "Artificial intelligence (AI) broadly refers to the research toward and the engineering practice of making computers mimic intelligence. (. . .) We are only about ten years into full-blown AI revolution, the widespread use of AI to make commercial and governmental decisions impacting large numbers of individuals. We, therefore, need great journalists to guide us through this transition!" (Williams, 2019).

Newman remarks that artificial intelligence has such functions as using machine learning methods to personalize content in journalistic applications and to develop better recommendations for audience; automating more stories and videos (called robo-journalism) and providing tools to help journalists deal with content uploading, and adds that the use of artificial intelligence is still not widespread to displace editors: "Publishers tell us that they are planning to invest more this year in harnessing the potential of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Machine Learning (ML) – but not at the expense of editors and journalists. Our survey shows respondents think that investment in AI (78 %) and more journalists (85 %) is needed to help meet future challenges – but with strongest preferences heavily stacked in favor of humans" (Newman, 2019). Accordingly, it has become even more important to examine from the perspective of journalists how new practices such as artificial intelligence in news writing will affect the news production process and the position of journalists.

Journalism for a Changing World: How Journalists Perceive Transformation?

It is possible to note that field research that offers sector-related data is needed to reveal how employees working in professional news organizations in Turkey perceive the transformation of the news production practice. Via email, in-depth interviews with 11 professional journalists in the mainstream media in Turkey in different positions were carried out in the study to obtain such data.

Almost all of the participants wanted their identity and the names of the corporations they work to be kept confidential to express themselves more easily and to express their criticism about their own institutions freely. Therefore, all participants were named as P1, P2 in terms of the integrity of the study. 11 participants interviewed work as correspondent, editor, television news producer, newspaper editor in news organizations such as TV news channel, newspaper, and internet news site. All of the corporations they work are among Turkey's largest industrial and mainstream media organizations. The media experience of the interviewees was determined as minimum 8 and maximum 22 years.

The participants were firstly asked the question *"How did the development and transformation of new media and information technologies affect your daily news production practices?"* The common point of the answers is that the speed of the new media and the easy access to information make positive contributions for the journalists. P6, for example, said that the fast-paced and renewed technology makes the news production process much easier than in the past. While the state of technology has brought about processes such as increasing and diversifying the communication speed, it has paved the way to reach the news, the source, and the related photo/image very easily (P6).

It is stated in many studies that the Internet and social media, in particular, have changed and transformed the practices of newsrooms in the production and distribution of news, and the work and operation of journalists (Pavlik, 2001). Indeed, the interviews performed within the framework of the study indicate that the journalist working in the mainstream media organizations in Turkey stated they use new media effectively when determining the news topics, creating news and spreading the news: *"The agenda of web sites' news is created by Google trends. In Google, the most searched words or names are made according to the news. Then, Twitter trends are looked at. Again, there is news about the incidents that are commonly mentioned (P1)."*

P2, who has 22 years of experience as a sports journalist and editor, explained how the news sources have evolved together with social media, with the statement "In the past, there was only news flow from agencies, now clubs, federations,

football players are constantly sharing information from their social media accounts." Therefore, today, the journalists have to follow the social media accounts of news sources of their colleagues, institutions, organizations so on.

For those working in television newsrooms, it is frequently emphasized that the most important convenience provided by the new media is the availability of news and the practicality of live broadcasting as well as the speed.

> "The development of new media and information technologies has accelerated access to news sources. For example, in the past, in order to get the photos of an incident in the farthest part of Anatolia, we would expect news agencies to go to the region and send the photo or if our reporter was nearby, he would go. But now we can make a live connection to the people living there thanks to the mobile phone. We can broadcast the incident as soon as possible. Connecting to our reporters abroad was time-consuming. We used to need live broadcast equipment. This is also a costly item in terms of broadcasting. But now we connect via iPad or mobile phone. It saves time and money (P8)."

Serving as a producer on a news channel, P8 emphasized the importance of quickly reaching videos, especially in television journalism. Stating that social media has opened a channel to reach user-generated content in this respect, P8 put forward that "We have a look at social media channels first when an incident occurs anywhere. A citizen has shared photos, videos about the incident. While we used to be able to get the news of an incident in the morning ready for the afternoon bulletin, we now are able to broadcast it after 10 minutes thanks to social media." P5, on the other hand, emphasized that the participation of citizens in news production, especially in breaking news, adds strength to professional journalism and paves the way for journalism. In this context, it is observed that the increasing participation of users in news production is not perceived as a threat by journalists.

Problems Occurring in the Convergence and Adaptation Process in Newsrooms

In the study, the question of how the process of change and transformation experienced in newsrooms in terms of technological convergence were asked to the participants. Heckman and Wihbey (2019: 326) underlines that the media organizations in the United States were unprepared to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the new media and emphasized that the late arrival of news organizations on the web world in the early 2000s is a striking example. Likewise, P1 underlined that most mainstream media were late in adopting new media organizations in Turkey:

> "It is open to dispute whether newsrooms have undergone a complete transformation. Some adapt very quickly; others continue to falter. Although the advent of digital media has been evident for 20–25 years, the lack of their preparation and investment in people has had an impact on this situation (P1)."

P4 stated that the possibilities of the new media have forced the newsrooms to try to adapt to this even if it is late. P4 suggested that newsrooms have had to revise their technologies and devices and that this has changed the quality of employment and "Human Resources now gives ads for employees that are competent in technology, familiar with the news, open to development."

Now, "editors who produce, edit, present, and market the news on social media have become the prominent element of the new era"(P5). While the search for a new generation of journalist/editor capable of multi-skill in digital subjects in the newsrooms continues, the existing editors are expected to be "convergent" and each editor to be competent in all broadcasting processes, and new task definitions such as "multimedia editor" have been introduced as a result of the convergence in newsrooms (P9). "The journalist in conventional journalism has been replaced by editors who produce and publish content for different platforms of the media organization" (P5).

> "Especially the number of tasks a person performs has started to increase. With a single person, it is now possible to receive news images and deliver them to newsrooms. In other words, the journalist used to take photographs and write news; the cameraman would take the image, uplink staff would take the image to the newsrooms. Now we can do all this work with one person, one device. Improvement in Internet technology has increased connection speed and mobile devices have accelerated this transformation (P7)."

The journalists state that "They all have to be media employees who use mobile phones, able to handle the image and text alone if necessary, which means that they are supposed to be the ones who can melt the tools in the conventional media in a single digital pot" and emphasize that technological convergence, which reduces employment opportunities and increases the workload for themselves, offers "media bosses and mangers an economic opportunity that they have been pursuing for years" (P9). Stating that the number of employees in the newsrooms in which he worked at the beginning of the 1990s was higher than the number of employees working in the newsrooms of the 5 largest channels, P11 underlined that this situation is also related to technological developments as well as other factors.

Stating that the media is an increasingly shrinking line of business, P1 put forward that those who want to survive in this area have no choice but to be

multitasking with the statement "You have to transform yourself to avoid getting fired in the face of this development that deadens specialization, reduces costs, makes bosses happy."

More attention is now given to the fact that the news is supposed to be "short, concise, understandable" (P8). The journalists state that the transformation has restructured the reader/audience, changed their habits and consequently they have to create new workflows. It is pointed out that "people now want to reach the news shortly and quickly, so the news is prepared differently for the social media accounts of the media organizations".

> "Now, the need to produce news by considering all the media emerged. The journalist, who previously produced news for the newspaper only, now produces content for the website by considering both text and images. The journalist has now changed the habits of producing news based on the needs of visual and digital media. At the moment, images, photos and news content on a single web site are on a single page. Besides, news texts have begun to become shorter and more abstract texts. The time to read the news has decreased in parallel with the decrease of time to look at the digital screen (P7)."

Together with the new media, it is noteworthy that the participants all agreed on the fact that the writing habits have changed. Now the texts must be as rich as the content of the magazine, as concise and clear as the news of the television, but short and interesting enough to attract attention in the digital environment. The journalists "have to think of every medium of sharing and create a common language" (P9).

P2 expressed the view that former generation journalists have more difficulty in this matter. Because in the new era, the understanding that readers/audiences are regarded as "customers" – which always happens – has become more important today. "Keeping the customer (!) interested in the news or on the video requires a different skill. Because it is not enough to give pure information anymore, it is necessary to adorn it, and add the element of curiosity into it" (P2).

"Pointing out that in the past, the news owned by only you, not anyone else was very valuable information" P6 complained about the fact that *"in the new process, they have to produce a special video that includes this information, a special infographic consisting of this information, a caps that reflect the basis of your news"*. Now, as much as content – perhaps more than that – it becomes more and more important how you present this content, through which visuals and through which social networks. "Because the number of people who read this news from your site is quite low compared to the number of people who follow the content on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube or Instagram, so the changing habits of getting news lead to changing tools and changing content" (P6).

New Media, New Audience Expectations, New Habits

Working on the website of Turkey's one of the most important newspapers in terms of circulation and popularity, P6 stated that he has no information regarding how many newspapers are sold at the newsagent's and he doesn't remember when he bought the newspaper on which he works himself and reviewed it. According to him, "it is both normal and inevitable for the outside reader to have very different dynamics in an environment where even the insiders' habits change" (P6).

Especially young users, who have effectively incorporated new media into their lives, have moved away from traditional media habits, the mainstream media has tried to get closer to them. This has led to the search for a new storytelling technique and more creative and active use of social media accounts. "Because people prefer social media, where television news channels can reach their photos, information, and comments immediately and investigate its accuracy from a few sources when there is an incident instead of stereotyped news that cannot go beyond certain limits" (P10). However, information density, diversity and, in turn, a kind of "consumption craze" is experienced in social media networks. "While the reader was trying to reach the news before, the majority of news (journalists) is now trying to reach the reader. Social media has a very active role in this change" (P3).

> "The new process was accompanied by a mass ignoring news highly full of depth-analysis, political news, information, and data. Now people want to read and consume news quickly. That is why the top headlines of the most clicked sites are under an invasion of the news about police-court, sports, and model-actresses, who are relatively nude (P6)."

One of the most striking innovations of this new news ecosystem is the increase in the audience's ability to interact with journalists. Interaction is one of the most important features of new media. Journalists state that readers/audience can interact with them instantly through social media accounts and sometimes ask them to give accounts for the news that they produce or do not produce. This possibility of interaction is certainly abused by some users and negative messages such as profanity and insults can be sent to the reporters (P2).

The effect of readers/ audience on the field of journalism is not only limited to interaction. In particular, mobile phones with high-definition cameras, various applications, and the Internet have led users to play an active role in news production and delivery practices. Citizen journalism practices have also had the opportunity to reach a wider audience through social media. In the light of these

developments, conceptual debates such as "what is news?" or" who is called a journalist?" have started to be frequently performed.

Emphasizing the quotation "In the future, everyone will be world-famous for 15 minutes" by Andy Warhol, P11 argues that when the citizens share the incidents they witness via their mobile phone, "they feel like journalists for 15 minutes." Photos related to many moments that no one could have imagined taking in the previous periods are now submitted to newsrooms thanks to users who record every moment with their mobile phones (P10). Thus, photos that include the panic moments on an airplane, the videos of natural disasters that are taken without professional journalists, the breaking news developments, become available. This situation has increased the desire of the news organizations to access user-generated content as a priority, and channels such as "WhatsApp Notice Lines" have been created in this direction.

However, P1 stated that these kinds of images are served to a large number of RT and FAV by being shared to let the public know about the incidents, "these images already achieve the aims when used by mainstream media." According to P8, "the ones who record or take a photo of an incident are supposed to be considered as messengers rather than journalists." P8 regarded the mobile phone users who serve the images with news quality as "the ones that voluntarily work as cameramen for them."

The fact that user-generated content quickly reaches such masses certainly raises the issue of content accuracy and confirmation mechanisms as an ethical problem. P3 noted that such content always has a credibility problem and that the reporters must confirm the accuracy of the content. P2 also stated that the point most frequently ignored by, in particular, young journalists is that they fail to search about the source of news and commonly share face accounts because they are lazy and state that "it is impossible to be fake as it is written by such person or office."

P9 argued that conventional journalism principles such as verification of two sources have weakened during this period and that the speed of sharing in social media leads to the establishment of new media channels to confirm the news or information. For example, teyit.org that has emerged in this direction and is a member of International Fact-Checking Network in Turkey sets the purpose of its functions such as "correcting commonly knowns false news, suspicious information on social media agenda, allegations introduced by media, rumors and enabling Internet users to access to true information" (*https://teyit.org/about/*).

Strengths and Weaknesses of News Production Practices in New Media Compared to Traditional Journalism

Compared to traditional news production practices, journalists determine that "the strongest aspect of the new media is that it is fast, the weakest one is that it is more vulnerable to information pollution and in need of analysis" (P9). Besides, it has become easier to access and disseminate information, "giving the opportunity to follow the right path and reach the news source you want" (P2).

According to the participants, together with the new media, you can prepare and present the written, visual or audial information in an unlimited way and react with the reader very quickly and establish an interactive communication with the reader. "Since your production is instantly measurable, you can also evaluate your success and performance improvements and enhancements instantly" (P3).

While the fact that speed, access to information become practical and the interaction are listed as important features of the new media, journalists address "speed" as a factor making false news a common problem.

> The strongest aspect is speed. Perhaps this is also the weakest aspect. Because of the relatively slow pace of conventional journalism was the strongest aspect of accurate information. Currently, newsrooms that act with the motto "the fast one wins "cause serious mistakes due to their speed. And to make matters worse, the rate at which the false news is spread is even faster and broader each time, even if they correct a story (P6).

Financial Effects of New Media and Information Technologies on Media Organizations

Mainstream media organizations in Turkey as well as throughout the world have tried to adapt to the digitization process through new investments and new developments. Well, how has this been reflected the media employees, how the journalists have been affected by the policies of the companies during the transformation of the new media, and how have they observed this process? The journalists interviewed in the scope of the study share the opinion that the transition processes of the media organizations in which they work are not well managed. "A digital investment is thought to mean that a media organization manages accounts such as Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Facebook and shares something on these accounts" (P1).

P5 suggested that "Traditional revenue sources are being transferred to new media organizations, especially digital advertising and brand budgets are being allocated to new media channels" and added that "It is also very advantageous

for the advertiser to measure quantitative expectations such as interaction and viewing."

However, P3 believed that "in Turkey, the transition from traditional to digital broadcasting was performed via considerably unsuccessful strategy and for this reason, a great number of organizations whose main income comes from conventional media have been on the edge of bankruptcy."

P11 expressed that "Media channels and institutions that cannot keep up with the transformation have already closed down. This will continue, if we do not take a different form, both our institutions will fail and we will all be unemployed." and drew attention once again to the issue of employment. At this point, the common opinion was that journalists are required to adapt quickly to new media processes. According to P7, "Concerns may arise regarding the job security of conventional journalists who cannot keep up with the new technologies emerging with the new media, but those who regulate themselves according to the new order will continue to work."

> Journalism is an unchanging concept in terms of basic principles. Only the forms of news presentation, news sources and the technologies that the journalist's news is published are changing or diversifying. This change will continue after the day when we evolved from stone tablets on which we presented information to digital tablets. The journalist is obliged to follow these broadcast technologies and improve himself. Journalists who cannot adapt to this change will naturally come to the point of being out of the game over time. Today, this change and adaptation process continue rapidly in the conventional media and journalists who cannot adapt lose their jobs (P3).

The study also implies that the mainstream media corporations in Turkey reduce the number of employees and quality problems related to employment also arise because of the policy "fewer employees, lower wages" policy.

> Most of the employees are not competent. Because people who will accept low salaries are hired. They do not know wh- questions or Turkish language rules. They're doing a whole 'click' job. Ethics, moral values are not taken into consideration. They are fond of news about the female body, sexuality, incest relations, prostitution, fake news about transfers of players. There is no article writing, storytelling, news tracking (P1).

New Journalism Techniques and Adaptation

Participants in the study were asked questions such as "Are you aware of new techniques such as robot journalism, interactive journalism, data journalism? Do you use these techniques?" P6 responded as "We use all of them in the organization I work for. Even though we cannot make use of them efficiently and

accurately, we are taking serious steps to benefit from them". P6 stated that they benefit from the methods and techniques that emerged in the new period.

P9 stated that the concept of robot journalism is particularly interesting, that he makes no use of these techniques, but follows it. Saying that Western news agencies and media organizations, has already been using them, P9 predicted that such techniques will increase in data-driven news such as earthquakes and finance.

P5 stated that data journalism is a technique that they use primarily because they care about infographic publishing, and P1 emphasized that they are aware of these new models of news production but that they do not benefit because such innovative things are not desired in the organizations they work for. However, P2, P7, P10, and P11 stated that they are not aware of it.

The participants differently answered the question of whether artificial intelligence would be effective in the editorial process soon and whether this would affect the employment of journalists or not. P10, for example, "does not think artificial intelligence will be very effective in the editorial process in the near future, it can only increase the speed by playing a facilitating role during the content production". P3 expressed that even though the content prepared by using artificial intelligence has started to spread, he does not think that it will threaten real journalism at least in the near future.

P4 believes that artificial intelligence will certainly affect employment in the near future:

> Firstly, editors who copy and paste will lose their jobs. In order words, transferring what he got from the agency to another place. Why would anyone work for that? Both unqualified labour and unnecessary costs. Other than that, there are already trials of algorithms that provide comments on daily news via artificial intelligence. Even mini apps exist. They can make logical summaries as much as possible. Those who want to dedicate themselves to this profession are obliged to operate with different perspectives and logical processes. If not, they are likely to be unemployed within 5–10 years (P4).

Death of Journalism: What Are the Views of the Journalists?

P5 suggested that "Journalism is as old as the history of mankind because it has arisen from the need of people to 'hear and learn' and it will not die at this point" and adds that it is not right to say that journalism will die as a result of the new media, but that traditional methods of journalism are dying. Almost all of the participants share similar views. According to P2, "Journalism does not die. The newspaper dies, the magazine ends, the Internet is cut, but unless people's sense of curiosity dies, there will certainly be journalists that will meet their needs."

> Journalism is a profession in which one adds something from himself. It takes effort and research. The profession will be shaped according to the developing world. There is a perception that the reshaping of conventional journalism is interpreted as being dead. I think the profession is not dying, it is evolving. Evolution is like rebirth (P7).

According to some participants, journalism may not maintain itself in such forms as a newspaper or television, but it continues its journey of journalism in the form of a hand-held tablet, a mobile phone or a computer screen (P4). P10 argued that "where there is a human being, there is news, where there is news, there are journalists", that this situation will not change in the future and that "journalism will not die but will be evolved depending on conditions." However, some participants stated that if this rebirth is to take place, it should be based on some principles.

> As a digital broadcaster, I think that digital publishing, which is primarily performed with an SEO priority, has caused enormous damage to journalism and broadcasting. In particular, this method of broadcasting that is abused and deceives readers regarding journalism is the biggest obstacle in the "development of digital broadcasting in Turkey". The reason why digital broadcasting in Turkey is behind Europe and especially the USA is that it has lost its focus on "true journalism". In this context, the biggest duty and responsibility to introduce the right digital broadcasting into the right track again is on the shoulders of "journalists".

However, P1 argued that journalism has already been brain-dead before economic and political reasons and that its heart will stop after these developments. According to P1, "If organ donation is done, at least someone has the opportunity to do useful work using new technologies."

Conclusion

As a result of the new communication technologies, there have been changes and transformations in professional news production and distribution processes and this transformation have led to some differences in the structure and operation of newsrooms. Now, a new era in which robots, algorithms, big data, and automation are associated with journalistic activities has begun. Moreover, with the spread of user-derived content and the inclusion of citizens in the field of news production, the definition of news and journalism has started to be discussed again and the question of "Is journalism dying?" has again – become a current issue.

The interviews conducted with journalists serving in different positions of mainstream media organizations in Turkey under the scope of the study reveal that new media has enabled news production and distribution process to be

easier and faster, which is in parallel with previous studies. Especially with the Internet and social media, news sources have been enriched and access and interaction opportunities have increased. For television journalists, the new media have paved the way for a period in which photos are easily transmitted and the costs of live broadcasts are reduced and become more practical.

Participants expressing their views think that newsrooms in Turkey have not been able to take the right steps regarding this process and therefore their adaptation has been insufficient. However, as a result, an employment problem has arisen in newsrooms that are associated with the new media. Of course, factors such as economic and political structures and the attitude of the media owners may affect the structure and operation of newsrooms more than technological factors. However, in this study, it is stated that the new communication technologies, which are held in focus, cause a contraction in newsrooms and increase the expectation that journalists will have more skills. Participants emphasized that new job descriptions such as "multimedia editor "have emerged, that technology skill is quality journalists are obliged to have, it is important to have multiple skills and to produce news for different media types. While this has increased the workload on the employee, the wages have not increased at the same rate.

For this reason, the new media has a feature that makes newsmaking practices easier and reduces costs, especially making managers and bosses happy. However, employees need to keep up with the new era on the one hand, and on the other hand, they must face the added burden of new news production models and the risk of employment contraction.

In this period, the perception of short and concise, visual-based content expectations of readers and audience has become more widespread among journalists, and the content has been designed accordingly and the ways of getting more "clicks" have started to be searched. In-depth news and investigative journalism activities have been pushed to the background. The spread of user-derived content has raised the concern of confirmation, and reporters have claimed that the new media caused information pollution. The study reveals that the journalists have inadequate information about the new methods and techniques such as robot journalism and data journalism.

In light of all these developments, the participants share a common view in the face of the discussions about "Is journalism dying?" As long as humanity's curiosity and need for information continue, this profession will remain valid. According to them, journalists and news organizations that can incorporate the innovations brought by technology into news production processes and adapt rapidly to developments will survive and the sector will continue to evolve. The other ones will be the ones who cannot keep up with the "spirit of the time."

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Ayçin Gelir-Atabey & Erhan Atabey

From Citizen Journalism to Alternative Media: The Case of 140journos

Introduction

Upon the extensive transformation of communication technologies and the global increase in internet access, broadcasting opportunities have spread to a wide base and new opportunities have emerged in terms of rapidly delivering the produced contents to the masses. While these developments have changed the existing media ecosystem from various aspects, particularly in production and distribution practices, they have also directly led to the opening of new production areas. Citizen journalism, which emerged as a new news production practice and was assumed to have democratized the media ecosystem by making citizens a subject in news production, has become one of the main points at issue on journalism within the extensive transformation of the media. It can be said that citizen journalism practices have a unique adventure in the social, political, technological context and media environment of each country. In this respect, it can be stated that theoretical discussions should be enriched with data-based studies.

In recent years, the trend on citizen journalism, both in the context of periodicals and in the academic literature is to evaluate citizen journalism within the focus of social media such as Facebook and Twitter (Kim & Lowrey, 2015: 298). The main reason why the studies focus on social media is, as can be expected, that citizen journalism activities are now mostly carried out in these media. This development is quite understandable considering the massification of access to social media and the dominant role of these media in the new media order. Coordinately with the aforementioned trend, 140journos, which is discussed in this study, started its broadcasting life as a Twitter-origin citizen journalism channel.

Wall (2015: 804) highlighted that "Much research on citizen journalism fails to take into account non-Western political and social settings, leading to a narrow and perhaps distorted view of what citizen journalism is or could be in different parts of the world". This study aims to response the deficit being stated through the example of Turkey, within the frame of its borders.

A Conceptual Overview of Citizen Journalism

Participation of citizens in news production process by using media tools has brought a journalism term called citizen journalism to the literature. As a result of the public being unable to receive any response to its need of receiving information, citizen journalism has caused the need of raising the its own voice and agenda. The relationship established between the ownership structures with political and economic power owners in journalism is reflected in the news content and this has caused journalism to move away from professional ethics and to become a mirror reflecting the perspective of the dominant ideology.

Citizen journalism, which has been highly mentioned and regarded as worthy of consideration in recent years, has gained a more visible impact power with the technological developments and their reflections in daily life. In general, there are many views on citizen journalism, which can be thought as a reaction to the media organizations shaped by the rulers and their practices of producing news.

While there is no single conventional definition of citizen journalism, debates on the concept continue (Allan, 2019: 35). Citizen journalism is a type of journalism that emerged as a result of the problems of the media in the USA in the early 1990s. Citizen journalism, which developed in response to the prevailing media pressures and press freedom debates in the US at that time, has now brought the citizen into the focus of the news. There are many definitions related to citizen journalism, which is one of the concepts expressing citizen participation in the field of journalism.

Ruhdan Uzun (2006: 635) underlines that citizen journalism could be regarded as “an experience in which practices seeking solutions to problems are linked to democracy theses” and says “citizen journalism, as a practice developed in an effort to deal with economic problems related to media loss of readers/viewers, tries to link the solution of these problems with the development of democracy”.

While Rosen (2008) describes citizen journalism as “people previously being known as the audience informing each other using the journalism tools they have”, according to Noor (2017: 55), citizen journalism is a media term that expresses the journalistic activities of ordinary people. Wall (2015: 798) has described citizen journalism as “all kinds of news content produced by non-professionals (written, audio, visual, interactive, etc.)”. Erkan Saka, one of the pioneers of research in the field of citizen journalism in Turkey, contributes to the term “unprofessional” in Wall’s definition and states “unlike the local journalism or human-oriented journalism of professional journalism, it is essential that the news is produced by a citizen who is not a professional journalist” (2012: 41). Mark Glaser (2006) likewise has stated that the background of the

concept of citizen journalism is that people who do not have professional journalism training can produce news either alone or in collaboration with others using modern technology tools.

In the Handbook for Citizen Journalists, published by the National Association of Citizen Journalists, Ron Ross and Susan Carsson Cormier describe citizen journalism as "It is news of the people, by the people and for the people" and they define the citizen journalism as a "fast developing way of journalism" (2010: 66).

In today's Turkey news ecosystem, however, citizen journalism as a quite significant place. There are various platforms in Turkey engaged in citizen journalism. 140journos and Dokuz8 Haber are the most well-known citizen journalism entities with their production variety and followability. "The Examination of Professional Journalist with Citizen Journalism: A Survey on the Citizen Journalism Perception of the Professional Journalists"[1] conducted inclusively on citizen journalism, provides significant information on the perception of professional journalists on citizen journalism. Within the survey, it has revealed that citizen journalism is known by the 70.3 % of the journalists participated and working professionally in Turkey. 80 % of the journalists participating in the study think that citizen journalism provides access to news that cannot find a place in the mainstream media and 71.6 % of journalists has stated that the content produced by citizen journalism has news value. In the study, 140journos content has been found to have the highest level of reliability by 71.8 %, while it has been seen by the 81 % of the journalists as the most creative news platform (MEDAR, 2018). This information reveals the day-to-day expansion of 140journos.

In the light of all this information, citizen journalism, which is the voice of the unseen and the unheard, emerges as an important journalistic practice. The fact that internet technology enables an interactive, simultaneous and global news exchange has opened the way for news from every segment of society by enabling citizen journalism to become more widespread. The fact that the events outside the agenda determined by the dominant ideology can be brought together with the society enables the constitutions of citizen journalism to meet with the larger

1 This research was conducted in February-May 2018 with the cooperation of the Guardian Foundation with the Media Research Association (MEDAR) and the support of the Norwegian Society of Social Sciences. Within this study, total 306 people, consisting of journalists working in the 6 cities of Turkey in mainstream and local media or alternative/opponent media platforms and freelancer journalists, who currently are not employed in any organization, were interviewed. The complete survey is accessible via http*s://medarder.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/yurttasgazetecilik.pdf*.

segments. 140journos, due to the period of it acting as a citizen journal, it has been able to provide news flow from all around Turkey with its voluntary basis reporter network and present these by supporting with visuals such as photograph and video. Also, with this structure, it has been one of the most important subjects of citizen journalism in Turkey.

Alternative Media

The definition of the concept of alternative media has long been a moot point. Alternative media "has been widely located outside the mainstream media" (Couldry & Curran, 2003: 7). Yasemin İnceoğlu (2010) defined that "the channel where the mainstream media is opposed to, radical, anarchist, anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical, non-profit, and a channel which represents and presents the news which we cannot see in the mainstream media." Alternative media, which argues that another life is possible against mainstream media (Çoban, 2014: 153), "has emerged through political and social struggles for social change, and therefore with ethical demands such as equality, representation, impartiality, and raising the voice" (Yanıkkaya & Çoban, 2014: 123).

Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier, in their work titled "Understanding Alternative Media", evaluates alternative media in four different theoretical approaches in order to "address the diversity and authenticity of alternative media, explain its importance and show the problems it faces" (2015: 28). These approaches, which comprehend alternative media within the framework of community media and are complementary to each other are as follows: "to serve the public", "alternative media as an alternative to the mainstream media", "alternative media as a part of non-governmental organization" and "alternative media as rhizome" (2015: 31). These four theoretical approaches to emphasize the different aspects of alternative media mainly describe the features such as "their defining the alternative media on a community basis, being based on participation, their structures that provide public visibility and link between opposing public, and being non-hierarchical forms of organization" (Yanıkkaya & Çoban, 2014: 122).

However, Bailey, Cammaerts and Carpentier (2015: 48) have listed the characteristics of alternative media as "aiming at small and specific communities, independent from the state and the market, facilitating the access and participation of the followers, having a non-hierarchical structure, discourses and representations that do not seek to establish domination and emphasize the importance of representation". The authors' ranking of the characteristics of alternative media also supports the four theoretical approaches they categorize.

It can be said that alternative media has evolved to a different structure with the developing internet technology and the social media platforms connected to it. Social media platforms are the most preferred areas for alternative media broadcasters in terms of speed and access to more people. Alternative media, unlike mainstream media, does not need tense conversations in the newsrooms, to think about which news should be in the first page or to make a planned agenda meeting. An event that is believed to have a counterpart in the public and which can instantly find reaction from the public may well be a candidate to be directly presented to the society. Whether this has a response is directly related to the people who read the news. Because, as Singer also states, "users now have the capability to make and implement what essentially are editorial judgments about what is worthy and what is less so, about what others should read and what they might as well ignore" (2014: 56).

Internet technology has also caused some developments in the public spaces. Network-based communication between individuals has enabled social media platforms to be defined as new public spaces. That the individuals must put this form of communication (from socialization to communication, etc.) at the center of their daily life practices and caused the necessity that the media has to make itself exist in this field. However, the fact that the mainstream includes people and opinions within a certain frame has enabled alternative media channels to show themselves in internet-based broadcasting.

The possibility of representation for each segment offered by the alternative media has enabled different voices and views to emerge. As Atikkan and Tunç (2011: 99) stated, "until recently it was possible to hear the voices of certain political and social groups in the public sphere. However, thanks to the internet, extreme opinions began to be heard and opposing views began to clash with each other." Alternative media provides an alternative agenda to the society by raising the voices of different identities, communities or opinions and in this sense, the mainstream media also takes the power of mainstream media to determine the agenda to a certain extent. The fact that mainstream media includes news compiled from social media in their own publications can also be read as an indicator of the fact that mainstream media is sometimes unable to compete against alternative media.

Arne Hintz (2016) makes determinations about the mainstream of alternative media and citizen journalism, which he considers under participatory media practices. Accordingly, the media environment has been transformed in the context of participation and interaction, and various experiences have emerged in terms of participatory media practices, from alternative information to experimental formats, leading the alternative media practices to become mainstream.

Hintz summarizes this process in general terms with examples from a number of researchers. On the one hand, there are criticisms of monopolization in the commercial media, on the other hand, the opportunities offered by alternative media for citizen participation. While mainstream journalism concentrated its authority through providing information from worlwide, it allowed these practices before being described as "citizen journalism". As monopolization on the internet increased, on the other hand, open non-commercial publishing opportunities also emerged (Hintz, 2016: 21) All these developments are examples of the relative silencing of solid distinctions in the context of media ecology. Hintz (2016:21), referring to these developments, says "these classic divisions started to crumble in the early 2000s". Hintz (2016) refers to the mainstreaming of alternative media practices as follows:

> "Participatory and interactive content production moved from the sphere of alternative and community media to the mainstream of everyday practice, and thus from the margins of the media ecology to its centre. Most prominently, commercial social media platforms allowed people to publish and share their own stories, and thereby transformed the previously niche practice of activist and citizen journalism into a mass phenomenon." (Hintz, 2016, 21)

In this context, alternative media in Turkey, as in the whole world, function as an important source of news and find a partial place in mainstream media. News that are newsworthy but cannot find enough place in mainstream media, can reach the community through alternative media. In this respect, these channels also contribute to the right to demand information of the society. Based on this, 140journos, which started its journey of citizen journalism in 2012 with its claim that the right to demand information of the public is not met sufficiently, which brought citizen journalism to an end due to sociopolitical events occurred in country agenda in 2017 and which now has become a new alternative media channel with different video contents it creates, stands out as a constitution which should be researched and thought about when it comes to citizen journalism and alternative media.

An Overview on 140journos

Due to the technological developments, thanks to the taking photos and recording videos features of devices such as mobile phones and tablets, which are defined as "smart", individuals have shared these contents in social media platforms that allow them to interact instantly and "citizen journalism" practices have undergone a transformation. In addition to journalists, every citizen with the necessary equipment has become a news producer. Simultaneously,

content that can be circulated on a global scale has enabled a significant data flow without time and duration limitation. Individuals record and publish many events that journalists do not or cannot see instantly and enable many people living in different geographies to be aware of the situation. This can sometimes be a detail in social events, sometimes in the way that one brings his or her own experiences to the agenda of the society. In addition to social sharing websites such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc. channels such as personal blogs and podcasts also catch attention as medias in which news flow occur. New media technologies, which are changing and differentiating day by day, have brought many constitutions that claim to be alternative media broadcasting. However, many of these structures have not been successful in achieving continuity. To give an example in the context of Turkey, Freedom House, report written by Aslı Tunç refers to the citizen journalism initiatives prominent in Turkish media and gives 140journos, Dokuz8 Haber, Ötekilerin Postası, Vagus TV, VivaHiba, P24 as the examples (Freedom House, 2014: 14–16). Before this work was prepared, Vagus TV and Vivahiba's broadcasting life ended. Ötekilerin Postası, however, has not shared any content since October 2019.[2] Although P24 is active, it is not only a citizen journalism initiative but is a civil society initiative established by professional journalists and it is a medium that provides the opportunity to broadcast to journalists through various funds and projects, and in this respect it has a quality that is tangential to citizen journalism[3]. Only Dokuz8 Haber and 140Journos continue to operate among the aforementioned medias.

"One of the platforms using the technology in the most efficient way" (Erbaysal Filibeli, 2018: 463) 140journos has taken part in many other social media platforms in his publishing adventure started on Twitter. 140journos, which is among the content partners of Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, Medium and Periscope in Turkey, has now reached a significant number of followers and subscribers on social media platforms (ICM, 2020). As of February 2020, 140journos has 806 thousand subscribers on YouTube, 264 thousand followers on Twitter, 118 thousand followers on Instagram and 113 thousand followers on Facebook. Due to its transformation in 2017, it is seen that Twitter, Facebook and Instagram are frequently used for the announcement of the content published

2 See facebook.com/ötekilerinpostasi. (Access date: 22.02.2020). Also, for a review on Ötekilerin Postası See: "I went to resist. I'll be back": Otekilerin Postasi as an example of citizen journalism in Turkey" Kocak, D. O. (2015). "I went to resist. I'll be back": Otekilerin Postasi as an example of citizen journalism in Turkey. Central European Journal of Communication, 8(15), 265–279.

3 Bkz. http://*platform24.org/en/about-us*, (Access date: 22.02.2020).

on YouTube and the commercial platform it collaborates with, Blutv (internet television).

140journos has been operating within the Institute of Creative Minds (ICM), which has been operating since 2010 and where professionals have come together from different creative disciplines and developed public-oriented art, design and media projects (ICM, 2020). 140journos, who describes themselves as "a new media publisher who produces original documentary series and videos, qualified research and visual stories to understand Turkey" (ICM, 2020), has been continuing its publishing life since 2012. "140", which is the total number of characters allowed per post in "Twitter", one of the social media platforms sought to obtain information flow in social events, has come together with "journos", which meand "journalists" in English, and laid a foundation of 140journos reaching the users in various social media platforms today.

Founded by Engin Önder, Cem Aydoğdu and his friends, 140journos, which was a university student at the time of its establishment, achieved instant news flow from all over Turkey with its reporting system, which was formed entirely on a voluntary basis, and started to share it on social media accounts. The reporting practices that continued until 2015, along with the terrorist attacks and the announced OHAL (state of emergency), the disorganization of the data flow disrupted the way 140journos produced news. Upon these developments, the 140journos team decided to change its publishing policies. The team has started producing video content as of 2015. The team of 140journos of which number of followers increased from 300 thousand to 1.5 million by February 2020, following its corporate identity and media renewal on January 2017, consists of directors, producers, editors and photo and video artists (ICM, 2020).

Methodology

In this study, 140journos, which have been operating for eight years, have turned into a digital-born media within the news ecosystem, with the revision made both in formal and editorial aspects in content production in the last few years, have been examined as a sample. The study aims to reveal the defining dynamics in the transformation of 140journos into alternative media, which emerged as an ordinary citizen journalism initiative. The reason why the study is based on the 140journos sample is that 140journos can adapt itself to the new media environment as a result of technological trends and social transformations. In the scope of the study, data was collected through an in-depth interview technique with Engin Önder, one of the founders of 140journos and cited by Time Magazine as "the man who transformed journalism in Turkey" (Time, 2015).

"The interviewing technique is to obtain information about a subject within the framework of questions to be asked from the relevant people. How many people required and what the subjects will be depend on the research topic and purpose" (Aziz, 2013: 85). Interview technique is "an observation technique that provides flexibility, depth to the researcher and the interviewee" and is divided into two as qualitative and quantitative "according to the nature of the questions and the condition and number of people asked" (Aziz, 2013: 85–86). The qualitative interview technique is divided into three: structured, semi – structured and unstructured. This study was conducted with a semi-structured in-depth interview technique. Semi-structured (semi-standardized) interview; "involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and specific issues" (Berg & Lune, 2019: 121).

The questions asked in the research were prepared to reveal "how 140journos emerged during the period of citizen journalism and its development stages", "the process of transformation of 140journos from citizen journalism to alternative media" and "the dynamics that point to them" through their own lenses and the data were classified within this context.

The limitation of the work is that only Engin Önder, representing 140journos, could be communicated. In-depth interviews with the 140journos team were preferred in order for the research to be realized. According to the information given by Engin Önder during the interview, 140journos is a team of 23 people. However, at the time of the meeting, Engin Önder and Cem Aydoğdu were in the core of this team. The other members of the team are those who have limited knowledge of the foundation and development stage as they have joined later. More precisely, they have not experienced this process directly. Therefore, the persons deemed suitable to be interviewed were Önder and Aydoğdu. In the field process, it was attempted to reach Aydoğdu through various communication channels but could not succeed. Engin Önder agreed to participate in the research and answered the questions. Engin Önder is one of the two people in the administrative center since the foundation of the center. As a matter of fact, while doing this work, Cem Aydoğdu, the other founder of 140journos, announced that he has officially and actually left 140journos.[4] This once also confirms that Engin Önder has a decisive position in terms of the future projection of 140journos.

4 See https*://140journos.com/kurucu-ortaklar%C4 %B1n-ayr%C4 %B1l%C4 %B1 %C4 %9F%C4 %B1na-ili%C5 %9Fkin-bilgilendirme-metni-f98c58f7fefe* (Access date: 24.02.2020).

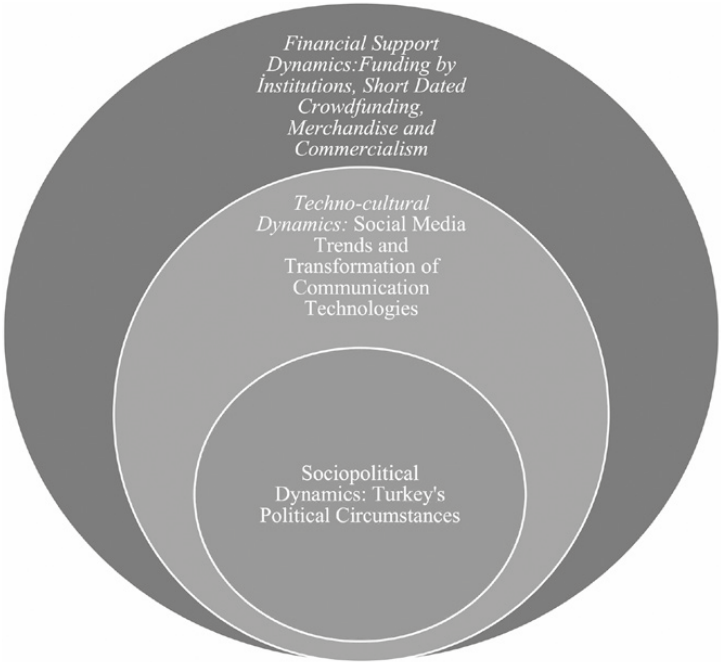


Figure 1: Defining dynamics from the birth and transformation of 140journos

140journos: Tracing the Citizen Journalism Based Alternative Media in Turkey

In this section, based on the research data, the determining dynamics of 140journos from birth to transformation are discussed and the findings are categorized thematically. As can be seen in Figure 1, these themes are embodied in the form of *sociopolitical dynamics*, *techno-cultural dynamics and financial support.*

Sociopolitical Dynamics

The findings were obtained from the collected in an in-depth interview with Engin Önder, one of the founders of 140journos.

Summarizing the socio-political dynamics that triggered the emergence of 140journos, Önder says that the death of civilians in Şırnak/Uludere in 2011 and the way the mainstream media handled the incident led them to question the

mainstream media. Önder explains the meeting of team members who do not have any experience with journalism as follows:

> "In January 2012, we opened an account called 140journos and started using Twitter for real-time news reporting on what we think the public should know on the streets and in the courtrooms. Just as YouTube stands out as a free space for journalism today, Twitter was that channel under those days' conditions."

Önder emphasizes that the fact that they start to follow the lawsuits which are closely related to the public, has an important place in their own journalism processes. He also states that citizen journalism practices emerged after these developments:

> "...Afterwards, we started to watch the public lawsuits in the courtrooms. In the OdaTV case on January 23, 2012, the judge took out all the journalists who had a yellow press card and was watching the court there out of the courtroom saying that they tweet during the court and this is against the court rules. We stayed inside because we were citizens and we continued to tweet. 140journos' effort was noticed by an academician on Twitter and we learned that the name of our work in the literature was 'citizen journalism'. Under the frame of citizen journalism, we contacted voluntary content creators in 80 cities of Turkey along the years and developed a news flow which has the agenda of public."

This process mentioned by Önder coincides with the general situation of the relationship between media and democracy in Turkey. Akser and Baybars-Hawks (2012), in their study of the media environment in Turkey after 2007, determined the presence of an increasing authoritarianism trend on the media at political, judicial, economic and discursive levels (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012: 302). Their study identified five themes that characterize media autocracy in Turkey. The media conglomerate pressure, judicial suppression, online banishment, surveillance defamation and accreditation discrimination (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012: 316). The dismissal of journalists from the courtroom in the Oda TV case described by Önder above and the fact that 140journos is the source of the news flow from the court can be considered as an example of judicial suppression and accreditation discrimination on a micro scale. Considering the wider context, it can also be said that citizen journalism has become a necessity with the rise of the media autocracy in Turkey. It can be said that this situation coincides with the democratic mission of citizen journalism, which was mentioned above with reference to Uzun (2006: 635).

Önder underlines that incidents such as Gezi Park protests which public is closely involved causes the news practices of the mainstream media to be questioned and the citizen journalism to gain a massive power.

> "With Gezi Park protests, citizen journalism format popularized in Turkey and larger masses could see the corruption we realized after Uludere. Those were years when the public areas are full of opponent voices and streets were being used actively because the real problems of the society could not achieve interest from the media."

This process experienced by 140journos is related to the course of citizen journalism in Turkey on a much larger scale. Because literature focused on citizen journalism in Turkey is seen as a breaking point that citizen journalism has become widespread and gained a wider sphere of influence with Gezi Park protests (Çoban & Ataman, 2017; İrvan, 2018; MEDAR, 2018; Saka, 2017; Yanardağoğlu, 2015).

The Freedom House report, written by Aslı Tunç (2014), which is mentioned above in the context of citizen journalism initiatives in Turkey, draws attention to the rise of citizen journalism along with the Gezi Park protests. Tunç (2014: 13) refers to this situation as follows:

> "The Gezi Park protests in 2013 sparked an outpouring of creativity and new media development online. The vibrancy of Turkey's citizen journalism sector is the flipside of a traditional media that has failed in its role as an independent provider of information."

Önder says that the journeys in the format of citizen journalism started in 2012, together with the ISID and PKK attacks in 2015, the coup attempt and the subsequent OHAL (state of emergency) interrupted the practices of making news reporting. Önder explains this process and why they could not continue citizen journalism as follows:

> "Since the curfews in Southeast of Turkey made it impossible monitoring the public area for the people who sent us contents, and the OHAL(state of emergency) declared after the July 15 coup attempt, has taken control of the public areas, as soon as we confess to ourselves that we cannot receive content from the people in this way and that the organization of the citizen journalism model which we have sustained through years has come to an end as we know it, citizen journalism as the form of we understood ended for us then we made the next move of 140journos and started to new media publishing. 140journos broadcast as you know today, emerged because of this need. The broadcast stream centralizing the video format which is being followed by millions of people with interest have thus been formed."

As of 2017, 140journos have abandoned the practice of citizen journalism and moved to a new publication format, as per Önder's explanation. This broadcast format shows a break from macro-political and routine news production. Although the content produced by 140journos since this date has not been subjected to a systematic analysis, our observations suggest that with this change they are focusing more on presenting human-interest news stories using visual

storytelling techniques. In this aforementioned historical context, journalism in Turkey has become a risky activity. Ataman and Çoban (2018) draw attention to this situation in their study on the relationship between counter-surveillance and alternative new media in Turkey. Ataman and Çoban (2018: 1019) explains the current situation as "Turkey has now become more and more barren to democracy in general and journalism in particular" based on a series of reports and index data. This table can also be considered to be the trigger for the format change of 140journos. As seen in Önder's responses, references such as Uludere, Oda Tv case (and other cases), Gezi Park protests, 15th July Coup Attempt, and OHAL (state of emergency) as sociopolitical cases can be presented as the basis of the determination of socio-political context in the emergence and shaping of 140journos. Interestingly, the socio-political factor that was decisive in the birth of 140journos was also the reason for its break with its starting point, citizen journalism. Önder says that with this break, the transition to "new media publishing" has been made.

It can also be seen that the values system of 140journos has also undergone a relative transformation and this transformation is due to certain socio-political dynamics. In response to our question "Do you face any pressure because of the content you produce?", Önder has stated that they haven't faced any situation apart from the pressures and difficulties are experienced by the media workers in general, points out that they have created a new journalism language to overcome this:

> "We started a war to the words became a symbol of a segment in collective memory during the hot news broadcasting in citizen journalism format which we sustained from 2012 to 2017. We have removed all of the words from our broadcastings, which we start to discuss the things that the word symbolizes by pushing the content into the background."

When this trend, outlined by Önder is evaluated in the context of Turkey, it is necessary to mention political polarization. An intense ideological polarization can be mentioned in the political life of Turkey (Somer, 2019). The repercussions of this ideological polarization appear at various symbolic levels, especially in identity (Esmer, 2019). Moreover, another dimension of polarization that exceeds the scale of Turkey is its relationship with social media. As Spohr's (2017: 150) says, "as social media plays an increasing role in the consumption of news and information, the effects of ideological polarization in information consumption become arguably more visible". Considering the emphasis on polarization on social media at the techno-instrumental level and in Turkey at the contextual

level, 140journos tends to take a neutral position on symbols and words in the new publishing model.

Önder states that they have made a revision in the news language without using words that may especially cause different perceptions in the public:

> "We have put the symbol words, which has led Turkey into ad hominem debates into the shelves. It was this tactic that protected us in the first period, which allowed us to moderate public pressure. Now we are telling the truth to people with entertainment mechanics in the form of entertainment. This understanding was something that the manager mind, who was waiting to put pressure on the media, could not define. There are no headlines, no symbols, but we are watching, understanding that are familiar to us and to all in this geography and show behavioral changes. I think the most fascinating thing about 140journos contents is this effort."

At first glance this attitude can be seen as a kind of "de-politicization" of content and publishing. However, the above statements of Önder indicate that this attitude is actually a tactical discourse strategy. As can be seen in these statements, Önder makes assumptions that it is more possible to communicate their content and messages to broad segments of the public as long as they are away from symbolic-level discourse conflicts.

Another similar determination is found in the work of Hackett and Gürleyen (2015). This study focuses on relatedness and position-taking with "alternative media" and the "objectivity" of mainstream journalism. While embodying this theoretical debate based on dualities at case level and they also included 140journos. Based on the in-depth interview data with Engin Önder and Cem Aydoğdu in 2013, Hackett and Gürleyen (2015: 62) point out that 140journos' use of news language is formatted in line with the goal of "objective journalism" and they express this situation in a broad context as follows:

> "From our own observation as researchers, objective journalism is both a popular demand, and a goal pursued by at least some alternative media, in countries as diverse as Fiji, Serbia and Turkey. As one example, consider 140journos, a popular Turkish citizen journalism site on Twitter. Defining itself as a 'counter media movement', it works to offset the perceived shortage of fact-based objective news reporting in the dominant Turkish media. Its detached tone and neutral language do not render it apolitical, however; it collaborates with social change organisations to transform the news into social responsibility campaigns, giving citizens a voice on issues that affect them (Engin Onder and Cem Aydogdu, interview with Gurleyen, 19 August 2013)" (Hackett & Gürleyen, 2015: 62).

The new media/traditional media dichotomy may be mentioned as another example of these dichotomies, based on Hackett and Gürleyen's (2015) emphasis on the existing dichotomies between mainstream and alternative media on the

axis of objectivity. In addition, in the context of the reflections of technological developments in the media field, Önder, as an alternative media actor, will be seen to be evaluating various dualities in the context of new media publishing and traditional publishing. As decisive as socio-political dynamics have been since the beginning of 140journos until today, developments in communication technologies and their transformative reflections on the media field appear to be just as effective in the transformation of 140journos.

Techno-Cultural Dynamics

Yet, as the number 140, which gives the name to the channel, evokes, Twitter is the first channel that enables 140journos to exist as a social media platform. However, 140journos has tried to catch up with every transformation trend in communication technologies, as underlined in the various parts of the interview, this includes 140journos using Facebook, Whatsapp, Snapchat, YouTube in addition to Twitter, and starting production of high-quality content on paid platforms. In addition, 140journos' attempt to create mobile applications for a period can be evaluated in this context. From the emergence of 140journos until now, traces of the central determinacy of new communication technologies can be seen.

In the transition from citizen journalism to alternative publishing, it is seen that as much as the change in platform preferences, the transformation in content production practices is also decisive. As can be seen in the statements of Önder, the point of action in the transition from the practice of citizen journalism to new media publishing is to change the content types and expression styles. This change occurred as a transition from routine based individual social media content to visual narration-based multimedia content. 140journos now proceeds its production with original video contents it prepares. Önder summarizes the production processes and the reasons of using the video as follows:

> "Video is currently the most effective form of media. After citizen journalism, we published a manifesto and announced that we would have a 'curiosity' – focused broadcasting where we changed our position from one that witnesses what is going on to one that we follow the subjects we are curious about. Currently, we continue to sustain 140journos within this frame. We are moving towards more advanced, more innovative areas of video, gaining experience every day. Our average productions, which were 23 minutes when we first started producing videos in January 2017, are now getting longer and gaining depth."[5]

5 For YouTube video contents of 140journos see. http*s://www.youtube.com/user/140journos*

It was noteworthy that 140journos, while broadcasting with the practices of citizen journalism, had a direct interaction with its audience and made it a part of the news making process as a volunteer reporter with this network-based interaction. In the new publishing format, it is seen that the audience have changed from this participating position to a relatively passive consumer position. Rather than being the subject of the mass broadcast process, the audience seem to be a datafied object. It is possible to see traces of this in the details described by Engin Önder about video subtitles:

> "Adding subtitles is a technical decision that the data leads us to. When we changed to video format in January 2017, the first examples we produced did not have subtitles. Then, when we looked at the viewing statistics on YouTube and Facebook, we saw that people were watching the videos in mute and this rate was very high. However, our content consists of an image and sound editing. We realized that people were not consuming the content correctly and we started adding internal subtitles. It is now considered as one of the standards in new media broadcasting. It's not coincidence that you see subtitles in all new generation examples."

Evaluating the relationship between the mainstream media and technology, Önder emphasizes the separation of the traditional media and, 140journos in particular. Stating that journalistic practices have changed, Önder points out that traditional media cannot catch up with time and that it stuck between the new and the old: "The mainstream media has neither a manpower nor an institutional mind to understand technology and utilize it for the future of its own media and take steps accordingly. I think that train has already been missed."

While explaining his own processes, Önder points out that traditional media institutions have failed against the change:

> "I think journalism has always lost because of this until today. It has seen social media as an enemy and lost the war. Social media accounts of archaic media organizations are not the most effective channels of the internet today. Bad managers feared the technology and started a war, which caused them to lose a very serious position. Now they pay the price adoptively."

Here, it is seen that Önder approaches between new and old/traditional via a dichotomy. While defining 140journos in the value field of new media, Önder judges the traditional one as not being able to capture the new and, in a sense, becoming obsolete. However, it can be said that the situation of the mainstream media in Turkey in the context of capturing the new one as a total institution is relatively different from the picture that Önder drew.

Because, although it is an early evaluation compared to today, traces of the movement from traditional to digital can be seen in the study of Tunç et al.

(2012). Even if there is no institutional and systemic transformation, it is possible to find the changes and transitions at the actor level in Engin Önder's own statements. Because Önder also states that some journalists from the traditional media can pursue their profession by publishing new media technologies since the existing journalism has narrowed:

> "Some journalists who have come out of the mainstream have just come to realize that digital media is a chat medium, thanks to their personal initiatives and they receive the prize in return. Cüneyt Özdemir, for instance. He has the same number of subscribers as our channel."

The example given by Önder about the journalist Cüneyt Özdemir, points out the mainstream media professionals' orientation towards new publishing practices. The study of Lasorsa, Lewis and Holton (2012) focuses on the relationship established by mainstream journalists with microblogging and practicing their professional norms in this relationship. With reference to the work of Jane Singer (2005), they are pointed out that journalists generally apply traditional and mainstream norms such as "gatekeeping" through these new practices (Lasorsa, Lewis and Holton 2012, 19).

On the scale of Turkey, a recent study by Ataman and Çoban (2018) draws attention to the transitions between mainstream media journalists and alternative media. Accordingly, "well-known celebrity journalists working for mainstream media had to become activists and now can make themselves heard only in the alternative media" (Ataman & Çoban, 2018: 1019).

In this context, the determination "Participatory and interactive content production moved from the sphere of alternative and community media to the mainstream of everyday practice" quoted from Hintz (2016) under the title of alternative media in the theoretical framework may be remembered. Because both the example of Cüneyt Özdemir, which is mentioned by Önder and underlining of Ataman and Çoban (2018: 1019), indicates that mainstream media actors are, at the same time, turning to new and somewhat alternative broadcasting practices. On the other hand, 140journos, which defines itself as "alternative media", almost produces content at the technical level of a mainstream medium. What is remarkable is that the final product they put forth with their new publishing practices is published on the commercial platform. This new situation also hints at the financial transformation of 140journos.

Financial Dynamics

140journos, which uses new media as its media medium, undoubtedly needs financial resources to ensure its continuity. Picard (2014) in his study evaluating the change of the news ecosystem through revenue models points out that many start-ups in recent years have gained funding support through foundations, due to the importance attributed to their publishing activities. It emphasizes the need for institutions to create their own financial resources in order to ensure the continuity of these activities (Picard, 2014: 275). The information we have obtained from open sources and the data we have obtained from the meeting with Önder, indicate that since the first phase, there have been various attempts from 140journos to create financial resources. In this respect, it is seen that 140journos have taken various financial fund creation actions since the establishment phase.

The report titled "Beyond the Article: Frontiers of Editorial and Commercial Innovation" (Anderson, 2017), published by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, states that 140journos generate revenue through Institute of Creative Minds, which they have an organic bond (Anderson, 2017: 7–8). In this context, it is understood that they have benefited from various funds and grants through ICM. However, there are also risks in terms of a sustainable income model. Because of the political position of the publishing practices of 140journos in the same report, particular attention is paid to the existing handicaps in financial investment. In the report, Önder explains this as "Making money is not easy. Appealing to investors for a political news site is almost impossible" (Anderson, 2017: 8).

Looking at the sources of income of 140journos, it is seen that many new ideas have been generated for the survival of the channel. 140journos generates revenue by broadcasting its licensed custom-made original content via Blutv. In addition, 140journos, which has developed many suggestions for financing new media such as advertising production, branded content publishing, commercial collaborations, editorial and creative consulting, is able to continue publishing in this way (ICM, 2020). Önder expresses the necessity of obtaining the necessary financial support for content production in different fields related to the media in their journeys, which they started with citizen journalism in their own words:

> "The structure of the media is changing completely. The character of content producers and their professional background are changing. What we know as the media so far is irrefutably in a total transformation. It is not possible for the economy not to change as everything changes, consumption channels change, producers' profile changes. Therefore, we bring a vision to the new media broadcasting economically as well. Content licensing to third parties, advertising production, branded content publishing,

> commercial collaborations, editorial and creative consultancy, merchandise. . . We have developed many proposals for the financing of the new media, thus ensuring the continuity of the 140journos brand and the broadcasting stream. We made an experiment to see if people would pay for in-depth content. We take the next steps by evaluating the results obtained here."

140journos has organized a total of two crowdfunding campaigns since its establishing (Demir, 2019: 55). The platform has launched its first crowdfunding campaign[6] for the mobile application of 140journos in 2012 but could not get positive results. 140journos whose equipment was stolen due to the theft in their office in 2017, 140journos once again organized a crowdfunding campaign and requested support from its followers to purchase the stolen equipment and continue content production.[7] With this campaign, the targeted support was reached, and the campaign was completed. From this point of view, when the difference between these two campaigns is examined, we can say that 140journos has become more recognized and a relationship of trust and belonging has emerged between them and their followers. Engin Önder has also supported this idea by saying during our interview "We have 1.2 million followers and a serious sphere of influence. This is a very valuable trust relationship between a broadcasting organization and its followers".

To summarize, as seen in this section, 140journos goes through various changes in the context of financial resource creation and income model. There are no traces of subscription or systematic crowdfunding, even though there are subscriptions or short-term crowdfunding attempts, as audience interaction finance models. Instead, grants and funds from the ICM stand out, while in the new publishing format, trends of commercializing are observed.

It is possible to evaluate the financial adventure of 140journos through the determinations in Kenix's (2015) study. Kenix highlights a convergence across the media spectrum by deconstructing the binary oppositions established between alternative media and mainstream media over commercializing. Because, according to Kenix, the structurally market economy-based media ecosystem imposes the encirclement of a commercial logic in the last instance. Alternative media should be positioned outside this logic at both practical and theoretical levels; it is not structurally possible to achieve this except for individual examples.

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6 See. http*://www.stgm.org.tr/tr/icerik/detay/140journos-vatandas-haberciligi-mobil-uygulamasi*).

7 See. http*s://www.indiegogo.com/projects/140journos-un-uretime-donmesine-yardimci-olun--2#/*.

At this point, Kenix (2015) explains the factors related to the fading of the distinctions between alternative and mainstream and to the kind of convergence of these two positions as: "the rise of internet technologies; an interdependency of sources and resources; reduced journalism standards met with rising standards of alternative journalism; and increased expectations for transparency as well as 'relatability' across all media" (Kenix, 2015: 66). 140journos' attempts to create financial resources and make them sustainable can be seen as a sign of convergence between the alternative and the mainstream ones.

Conclusion

States or governments continue to exist within a certain systematic. This systematic is achieved through state-created institutions. At this point, Althusser, who divides the institutions in question as Repressive State Apparatuses and Ideological State Apparatuses, emphasizes that communication (press-radio-television, etc.) among the ideological apparatuses of the state has an important role in spreading the ideology of the state to the masses. According to him, "no class can hold the power of the state permanently without applying its own hegemony within and above the ideological apparatuses of the state" (Althusser, 2006: 67). From this point of view, the mainstream media is still acting in a certain ideology perspective. This situation prevents the polyphony in the society and creates a search for those who want to make their voices heard. However alternative media opens up a space for citizens to make their voices heard. "They also take responsibility to spread their ideologies and what they represent" (Bailey, et al. 2015: 42). In this sense, the alternative media has become an important medium for those in this segment of society to find the opportunity to express and represent themselves.

The development of internet technology and its dominating power in daily life practices, has made itself felt in the field of media as well. Alternative media broadcasting, which gained momentum with the Internet, was able to reach more segments and opened the way for different segments of the society to make their voices heard by a wide audience. The close relationship established by the mainstream media with the governing and economic power was reflected in the contents of the journalism and the media assumed the role of the spokesman of the government in a sense. In this environment where mainstream media has a single voice structure, alternative media initiatives have closed an important gap in the expression of different segments and different agendas.

In 2012, 140journos, which emerged with a new understanding of journalism at a time when the mainstream media could not fulfill its function on behalf of

the public, displayed an example of citizen journalism that attracted attention with its unique journalistic practice and contents. In 2017, as a result of the transformation and changes it has made in line with the developments, 140journos continued to broadcast with video content and pursued the "other agenda" that was not included in the mainstream with a professional team and managed to keep the attention directed to itself with alternative content alive.

140journos, who had to abandon the practice of voluntary journalism in the process when alternatif media broadcasting had political difficulties, was able to maintain its presence in a new format by taking a different position against this unfavorable situation.

Based on the interview with Engin Önder, it can be said that there are some dynamic These dynamics can be categorized as sociopolitical dynamics, technological organizational dynamics. When all these dynamics are considered, even in Turkey media ecosystem in which even the mainstream media has institutionalization problems, 140journos sustains its existence by changing and transforming as an alternative channel. Founded on the basis of citizen journalism and been one of the first examples, 140journos is not operating in citizen journalism anymore as the result of the transformation it has undergone in the middle of 2017. 140journos, which can be described as an alternative media platform, is one of the platforms using technology in the most efficient way and can adapt to technological innovations in the fastest way. This situation can be considered to have a great effect on the continuity of 140journos. We can say that its adaptive attitude towards socio-political developments and new trends in the field of new media will enable 140journos to be called an important player in the medium and long term. While socioeconomic and political developments affect the structure of societies, the media, undoubtedly, cannot be excluded. With the idea that the right to receive information from the society was not provided, 140journos, who embarked on a new journalism practice, had to abandon his citizen journalism it had carried out for five years because it could not provide the news flow after the developments in the country's agenda. Later, it became an important content producer for the society with its different topics and creation styles. We observe that 140journos, in its publications, try to make sense of the country's recent political history and sociocultural phenomena through events, based on the motto "understanding Turkey".

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Şerife Öztürk

New Inequality in the Field of Journalism: Technical Capital*

Introduction

Although journalism is in a transformation due to digitalization, its function has not changed radically. Journalism's transformation, which started on the internet and still continues on other digital environments, has changed the newsmaking processes, the definition and the position of journalists. The medium plays an active role and it is placed in the heart of journalism practice. With technology, the tools used in the journalism field constantly change and they transform the practice of journalism. Innovations brought by digitalization, competitive markets, sources, decreases in costs, the collapse of traditional business models, the role of social media, the places where news is produced and consumed are the key points of this transformation (Franklin, 2017: 41).

When Pavlik (2013) lists the phases of journalism's transformation in digital media, he puts the tools first. Digitalization has increased the number of tools journalists can work with and has accelerated the transmission of news by the opportunities it brings to the newsgathering and newsmaking processes by connecting to the internet. In the context of journalism, speed is the most important element of the digital environment brings along. Access to information from anywhere, at any time and the quick consumption of it, rise the importance of speed one more time. Reporting the news as fast and as accurately as possible is a matter of prestige for the media organizations and a factor to raise earnings from advertisements. Along with the digital media, the technologies that "make the fast even faster" enter the field of journalism.

The use of tools in the news making process is a necessity for the journalist. In digital environments, these tools have become smaller, more functional and they make it possible for a journalist to do a task that normally more than one person can do. Pavlik (2013) examines media tools for digital newsgathering and newsmaking in three categories. The first is the tools of recording and processing

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the footage of the events. The second is the tools for processing the notes and recordings of the events. The third is the field where mobile journalists work and field's tools of newsgathering and newsmaking. Now, thanks to digital tools, a single device can perform all tasks normally divided into three parts. Video and audio recordings can be taken with a smartphone, analysis of the audio, visual recordings and notes about the event can be decoded with simple smartphone applications. In addition to smartphones, applications such as search engines and applications that enable journalists to retrieve and process data and to fact-check, are the essential tools that allow the transformation of journalism.

The theoretical basis of this study which investigates the technical capital of journalists is based on the concept of "capital", one of the concepts that Pierre Bourdieu contributed to sociology. Bourdieu mentions four main types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. In addition to these capitals, Bourdieu (1986) discusses the skill to use tools under the cultural capital and examines the ability to use tools and machines under objectified cultural capital. Due to the fact that use of tools in digital environments is transformed through networks and this skill is one of the main determinants in terms of designating the position of the journalist in digital culture, therefore, inspired by Bourdieu, Yardi (2009, 2010) and Hayhoe et al. (2015) uses "technical capital" to refer to it.

The purpose of the study is to examine what journalists understand from "technical capital", how they acquire it, to find out if they find their technical capital enough or not; to research how they use their technical capital and what they do to improve it; research what media organizations expect from journalists regarding to capital ownership; and to show how technical capital determines the journalists' position in the field.

Recently, the fact that Turkish mainstream media is openly working to legitimize the dominant discourse of the government more than ever before gets negative reactions and raises interest in alternative media. Due to the increasing interest in alternative media, the researcher's curiosity and desire caused the universe of the study to be alternative media organizations publishing on digital media. The sample of the research consists of 140Journos, Dokuz8 Haber, T24, sendika.org, Gazete Duvar.

Qualitative methods were used in the process of collecting and evaluating data. Non-participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews were chosen and carried out for data collection. For the field study, questions were prepared regarding the tools used by journalists in the newsmaking process in digital culture and their ability to use the tools. For the field study, the officials of the selected organizations were contacted first to inform them about the subject and the purpose of the study. Then the dates were determined for the

interviews and observation. The first fieldwork was carried out at 140Journos between 23 April and 28 April 2018 (6 days, 6 people). Then, interviews were conducted at the Gazete Duvar Ankara Representative Office[1] 1, 9–11 May 2018 (3 days, 4 people), on 21–27 May 2018 at Sendika.org (7 days, 5 people), on 28 May 2018-June 2, 2018 (6 days, 4 people) at T24, on May 29, 2018 – June 2, 2018 2 at Dokuz8 News (5 days, 4 people)[2]. The last stop of the talks and observations was the editorial center of Gazete Duvar in Istanbul on June 28–29, 2018 (2 days, 2 people).

In the field study lasting 30 days in total, participants were chosen by the institutions' officials and researcher together before the interviews. Being the founder or manager of a media organization, having different titles in the organization and doing different jobs, played a fundamental role in this process[3]. The total number of people to be interviewed in the organizations was not determined beforehand. Time spent in different organizations for research varied due to several factors: the number of participants, difficulty in finding their available times and prolonged interviews due to the heavy workload of organizations. Researcher was with the participants in the news field before or after the interviews. While performing the journalistic practice, observation notes were taken regarding the process of writing news in the office. The interviews were recorded. After the interviews, voice records were transcripted into text and coded.

Within the scope of the field study, 25 people were interviewed[4]. The participants were asked 8 questions regarding technical capital. In total 25 people were interviewed. During the interviews, eight questions related to technical capital were directed to the participants. At the time of the study, seven participants held executive roles (such as representatives, coordinators, founders or editors) and the others had various titles as citizen journalists, reporters,

1 The only field study carried out in Ankara were the observations and interviews in Gazete Duvar Ankara Representation Office. Except for this, all interviews and observations were carried out at Organizations in İstanbul.

2 Fieldwork at T24 and Dokuz8Haber was just before elections of June 24, 2018, therefore, organizations were busy. Thus, the planned times for the fieldwork clashed. To solve it, interviews carried out at Dokuz8Haber in the morning and at T24 in the afternoon.

3 Interviews were carried out with people who execute the same job at the same organization.

4 This research is written from a Ph.D. thesis therefore the dates are of fieldwork for the complete thesis. Within the scope of the thesis, 25 people were interviewed. In this work, researcher only used the appropriate interviews for technical capital.

editors, translators, and video-makers. The average age of 25 people interviewed was 35 years old. Nine of the interviewees were women, the rest were men.

Participants were informed about the study's purpose and scope, how their data will be used for research and they were told they can leave the study whenever they want. They signed a consent form. Additionally, permissions for observations were granted by each organization's administration with a signed document.

Overview of Bourdieu Sociology

Pierre Bourdieu is a social scientist who approaches society as a field and carries his analyzes in a way that makes the structure of the field visible in the most objective way possible. Many of Bourdieu's concepts try to understand the individual in the structure and the structure in the individual. In Bourdieu sociology, the individual is both subject and object, meaning that the individual shapes the structure, and the structure shapes the individual. Bourdieu, who is not fond of dichotomies, prefers a holistic approach dissolving dualities within each other. Bourdieu does not approach individuals as corporality. Rather, he approaches them considering the actions positioning them in the field and the factors that have an impact on these actions, such as family, education and the class. Most importantly, he approaches the individual in relation to their habitus which produces, reproduces and is produced, is reproduced by factors such as family, education and the class. Bourdieu considers the structure as one entity formed by the individual and their practices. The structure does not restrict the individual's practices but rather shapes and is shaped by them. Bourdieu defines the structure with concepts such as habitus, field, and capital. All three of the concepts are interconnected and are needed to explain one another. The field of journalism, which Bourdieu (2005) defines as one of the three main fields (literature, politics, and journalism), is not merely an operational dimension of a journalist's newsmaking process. During this process, the consciousness that leads journalists to act, the field they are situated in and the capitals they have, are in effect. And the factors underlying the newsmaking practice shows the journalist's position in the field.

The Place and Types of Capital in Bourdieu Sociology

In order to explain capital effectively and define its functions within the field, Bourdieu divides it into four categories: economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is actually positioned in the other three capitals rather

than being a type of capital itself. Bourdieu summarizes capital as follows: "*It confers a power over the field, over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits endangered in it.*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016: 86).

According to Bourdieu (2015a: 457–458), the types of capital that an individual has is a factor in determining the strategy she/he uses in the struggle in the field. Bourdieu (1986: 241) not only considers capitals as the subject of struggles to seize power and its tools but also the main factor in the positioning of accumulated labor in social life, and of the individual in the fields. The size of the capital, the weight of the economic and cultural capitals owned and the change of the capital in time are determinants of an individual's position in the field (Göker, 2016: 281). Bourdieu places a deterministic role in the capital. According to him, capital which is not shared evenly among individuals is the main reason that individuals struggle with each other in the field. Individuals always struggle in the field in order to protect the capital they possess or to acquire it. The success of this struggle is also dependent on the capital that an individual has (Bourdieu, 2015a).

Bourdieu (1977; 1986) emphasizes that the types of capital are convertible and accumulative. These are the most important features of the capitals. What is interesting about the transformation and conversion of the capitals is that economic capital always has a role in the conversion of other capitals.

Economic Capital

Bourdieu does not describe economic capital in detail because he thinks it is the most transparent one of the capitals. Economic capital shows itself directly and it clearly hosts domination within (Dursun, 2018: 83–84). To Bourdieu (2018: 70), economic capital is the origin of all other types of capital and reflects, reproduces and justifies the class differences in the social field. Bourdieu highlights that economic capital must undergo a number of conversions in order to ensure its reproduction. That is to say that an individual has cultural, therefore, social and symbolic capital because of her/his economic capital. An individual's position in the field is determined by the sum of all capitals they have. The greater the volume of an individual's economic capital, the more likely and easier it is for her/him to acquire other types of capital.

Social Capital

Bourdieu (1986:248) defines social capital as the totality of the resources connected to the network of relations that give "identity" to the individual and

he bases this on the acquaintance of the individuals to each other. According to Bourdieu, those placed in the same field can recognize each other and can get closer. However, physical proximity is as important as being in the same field in terms of social capital (Bourdieu, 2015b: 229). Those who are in the same environment acquire social capital through each other faster than those who do not share the same environment. Bourdieu (2018: 69; 2015c: 32) defines the process of acquiring social capital in two ways. Firstly, the individual's social capital is determined within the framework of the relationships of the family. Here, the issue is the social capital of the individual from birth. Secondly, individual acquires the social capital from group memberships and through institutions such as clubs, associations. Social capital acquired this way is more important for Bourdieu than the one acquired from the family (Wacquant, 2016: 62) because acquiring social capital this way requires an individual's personal effort and labor. The individual tries to increase her/his social capital in social life and convert it into other types of capital, especially into economic capital.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu places particular importance on cultural capital because of its role in the struggle in the social field and class distinction. He highlights that cultural capital includes topics such as education, gender, age, technical expertise, skills, and artistic sensitivity (Benson, 2016: 189). Bourdieu sees cultural capital as a structure imposed on individuals through education and family by the groups who hold the power in the social field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2016: 108). Therefore, cultural capital has two processes: Family and Education. Cultural capital is based on family and is shaped by education.

Bourdieu (1986) mentions three states of cultural capital: embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state. The embodied state is the tendencies of mind that become concrete in the body. According to Bourdieu, this state of cultural capital, skills, etc. can not be transferred by genetics and can not be exchanged. Additionally, it is a product of tendencies of the mind; therefore, it appears unconsciously. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is distinct to the individual. Additionally, it renews itself, appears in new forms and sometimes even makes itself invisible. Embodied cultural capital cannot be converted into economic capital. This kind of capital is acquired in the family.

Bourdieu (1986) describes *objectified cultural capital* as an object (artifact) which is transformed from consciousness. Products of this transformation are the works of art (paintings, statues), literature (poems, novels, books). Journalists, painters, authors contribute to this field directly (Bourdieu, 2009: 202). These

products also provide economic and symbolic power to their producers. Bourdieu emphasizes that this state of cultural capital can be converted into economic capital. Bourdieu (1986), who also evaluates the ability to use the tools within the objectified cultural capital, mentions that the knowledge of usage of tool is objectified via using the tools, that is, it is made visible.

As the last state of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986) talks about *institutionalized cultural capital.* This state of cultural capital is acquired through education, that is to say, official institutions. This state of cultural capital is acquired in academic institutions such as schools, courses. Through diplomas, certificates issued by these institutions, the individual's talents and skills, either from birth or earned during life, are documented. Without these official documents, it is hard to apply these skills. Among two individuals having the same qualifications, one who institutionalized her/his skills has a distinguishing feature, in terms of education quality, over the one who did not. Just like other types of capital, institutionalized cultural capital and economic capital can be converted to each other.

Bourdieu points to cultural capital as the reason for the continuation of social divisions and inequalities caused by various capital ownerships (Smith, 2005: 190). According to him, class divisions are supported by cultural capital (education, foreign language, ability to use technologies, etc.). The education received by an individual from a family who owns economic capital differs in terms of quality and quantity, from an individual from a family that does not own economic capital (Bourdieu, 2015c: 35–37). Thus, Bourdieu highlights that inequalities between classes do not disappear with education, rather they increase and are constantly reproduced with education. Bourdieu tries to explain the transformation of lifestyles according to the changes in an individual's economic and cultural capital with a cross-related relationship between them. Economic capital and cultural capital may not be distributed parallely. An individual without economic capital is expected to not to have cultural capital. However, it is often not possible for individuals or groups with economic capital to seize cultural capital directly and quickly (Aktay, 2016: 489).

Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is a type of capital that is directly linked to the types of capital listed above and consists of their total volume. According to Bourdieu, accumulated economic, social and cultural capital provides strength to the consciousness, that is to say, to habitus. Symbolic capital is a power that provides authority to the consciousness. While describing the symbolic capital as an effort to

strengthen the status of the individual in the social field, he refers to the notions of recognition and prestige.

Symbolic capital has no direct equivalent to money. However, like any other type of capital, it can be converted into economic capital (Dursun, 2018: 95). Economic capital is provided by and provides symbolic capital. They are both result and cause of each other. An individual with economic capital acquires cultural and social capital in time thanks to her/his economic capital. The total sum of these capitals return to the individual as symbolic capital (Status, prestige, etc.). According to Bourdieu (2014: 202), the conversion of capital into symbolic capital does not happen right away. The individual spends time, effort, money and energy to acquire symbolic capital. Bourdieu (2015c: 153) considers symbolic capital as a type of capital that is constituted by other types of capital, based on cognition and knowledge, and it relies on the acceptance of others.

The New Capital That Shaped by Digital Culture: Technical Capital

Bourdieu acknowledges that in addition to economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, individuals need additional cultural capital to acquire the skills that they develop using modern technical tools (Brock, Kvasny & Hales, 2010: 1043). Bourdieu does not theorize this additional type of cultural capital as a separate title. However, he discusses it as a combination of economic, cultural and social capital (Abidin, 2018: 28).

As the skills of technology use, technical capital adding up to financial resources (economic capital), educational information (cultural capital), interpersonal connections (social capital), symbolic reputation (symbolic capital), the structural relations among them (Zhang, 2010: 1021–1022), become the determinant of the individual's position in digital culture environments. This type of capital is referred to as "techno-capital" in the literature. Those who use the term techno-capital interpret it as "a special form of cultural capital" (Lee & Chen, 2016: 68).

The concept of technical capital has been the subject of various studies[5]. Sarita Yardi (2009; 2010) carried out a study in which she describes technical capital as the transformed state of social capital in the digital environment and defines this type of capital as "the availability of technical sources in the network and their

5 Social informatics expert Sarita Yardi and Pedagog Simon Hayhoe researched disabled student's technology use skills and its relation to the level of their social relationships, using the framework of technical capital.

access to information". Considering technical capital as a subset of Bourdieu's cultural capital, Yardi focuses on the capital in relation to technology behavior and use. This way, Yardi provides a model of individuals' knowledge of modern technologies and their ability to use them. Her model is a techno-sociological adaptation of Bourdieu's model of cultural capital. Another researcher who works on technical capital is Simon Hayhoe. He highlights the importance of technical capital ownership and its important role in determining the position and status of an individual in society. Hayhoe underlines that technical capital ownership increases social status and it supports financial independence therefore, it brings the potential of being involved in social and cultural fields (Hayhoe, Roger, Eldritch, Böersen, & Kelland, 2015: 30). Both Yardi and Hayhoe discuss technical capital in different but closely related ways. The first is the digitalization of social capital, i.e. the relationship with other individuals in the network. The second is the ability of individuals to use technology. Both points are in contact with each other. An individual has a social relationship with other individuals in the network with the skill of using technology.

"The ability to use tools", which Bourdieu (1986) mentions in the concept of cultural capital, becomes visible in the concept of technical capital, and this skill becomes objectified while using the tools. In digital culture, tools are now in the "networks". When an individual's ability to use technical tools in digital culture is added to her/his social, cultural and economic capital, her/his competence in the field shows itself and provides him reputation (symbolic capital). The difference between Bourdieu's "ability to use tools" and "technical capital" stems from digital culture and thus from networks.

Technical capital is in constant interaction with other types of capital. Although economic capital ownership is a priority in technical capital ownership, cultural and social capital play an active role in obtaining this type of capital. In addition to the necessity digitalization bring along, personal effort and curiosity are decisive in the acquisition of this capital.

Journalists in the Field and Their Capitals

The importance of journalists in social life stems from the fact that they possess the medium which causes the production and dissemination of information. Bourdieu (1997: 27–42) states that journalists exist in the field according to the medium they have. They shape and are shaped by the field. He states that the struggles in the field make journalists different from other people in the social field. While Bourdieu's capitals (primarily economic and cultural) are

determining factors in journalists' identity and their position in the social field, technical capital's importance is also significant in the digital culture.

The perpetrators' (actors) capital that is shaped by factors such as family class, environment, school and so on is the cultural capital. For Bourdieu, cultural capital is not only education. The professional field and individual's profession in the field are included in the cultural capital (Benson, 2006: 192). Because the education of the individual affects her/his profession significantly.

Newsmaking starts with journalists' social capital. The social capital of the journalist is news sources, his relationship with news sources and other journalists in the field. The journalist must constantly expand her/his social capital. News sources are diversified by digitization. Primarily social media accounts and the other platforms in the network have become the most important news sources. Thanks to the technical capital of the journalist, s/he extracts the data from the networks, verifies the information s/he has acquired digitally and creates news by communicating with the news sources in this environment.

Having technical skills, developing them and gaining new ones is the key for journalists to acquire and maintain other types of capital that provide strength in the journalism field. Technical capital is more than only taking photographs or shooting with the camera, adding elements such as videos or photos to the news, using Office programs and editing photos or videos using Adobe versions. These actions are essentially known by journalists already. They are the practices internalized and have become the habitus of the journalist. What is aimed to be emphasized by technical capital is being able to publish by entering the news in the interface of the media organization. What aimed to be emphasized by technical capital is being able to publish by entering the news in the interface of the media organization, being able to pull data from a digital environment, analyzing data, interpreting them, coding, creating infographics or news cards using various programs (Canva, etc.), verifying news in digital environment with applications like Google, etc. and analyzing data with Google Analytics.

Symbolic capital is the way in which the sum of all capitals turns into action in the field and is the type of capital of journalists who hold power in the field. The titles and positions of journalists in the media organizations are dependent on their accumulated capital. The duties of journalists in the media organizations, the wages they receive, their reputation and recognition in the field are the indicators of their capital. Symbolic capital owners present this capital ownership in different ways from the working environment to their relations in the field. Due to digitalization, symbolic capital ownership is more apparent since journalists can make a difference in news, creating different content, using visuals, etc.

What Makes Technical Capital Important?

With the new media tools and practices taking their place in the social life, the transformation that started in the other fields also transformed the skills of journalists and make technical capital ownership important in the journalism field. The main reasons that make technical capital ownership important are the characteristics of new media environments, the formation of new revenue models, the change of production places of news, the transformation of news sources, the big data, the change of job descriptions and the transformation of journalists' identities through digitalization.

Characteristics of New Media

The necessity of technical capital ownership stems from the characteristics of the new media tools and practices that gain place in social life. The common feature of new media technologies is the fact that collection, processing, and distribution of data is all based on digital systems (Timisi, 2003: 81). The characteristics of the new media are "digitality, interaction, hypertextuality, multimedia styling, user-generated content production, sense of presence (virtuality) and diffusion" (Binark & Löker, 2011). Apart from these, convergence is the feature that provides the innovation and basic infrastructure of new media environments.

In order to benefit from the features of the new media in newsmaking and presentation of news, and to keep up with the speed of news flow, it is necessary to have the technical skills *and* know a number of programs. Lack of technical capital means not being able to take advantage of the features and conveniences of new media. It is important to have technical capital in order to utilize the opportunities offered by digitalization.

New Income Models

As the fields are transformed with digitalization, the income models that formed the basis of the economic capital of the fields were diversified and different models emerged. With different income models, the competitive environment also transformed. In digital culture, the income model is no longer a classical one anymore. Many options have emerged such as digital subscriptions, mass funding, digital advertisement and grant programs for media organizations (Uzunoğlu, 2018).

In the digital subscription (paywall) method, the reader is restricted in a certain way and a fee is charged for the areas she/he can access. After a certain

number of daily readings of articles and news, the paywall system is activated; therefore, the user needs to pay to access the content and certain categories.

In the crowdfunding method, support is demanded from the masses about a subject or project. Crowdfunding is the funding of a product, project or a social process by a mass whose members pay small amounts of funds. Requesting funds from readers and target audience is accomplished in various ways. The first is to circulate ideas and journalism projects, the second is to circulate them on social media, and the third is to establish different collaborations. The basis of mass funding is to organize a campaign. This method, which eliminates the gatekeepers in journalism, also enables direct contact between the producer and the consumer (Koçer, 2019). In the past, campaigns were run on websites such as Kickstarter or Indiegogo for crowdfunding. Today those sites have been replaced by Patreon. On Patreon, the target audience that is the readers who fund the media organization is defined as the "boss" (Vissers, 2018). Donations are received from the users per month or per published news.

The change in advertisements which constitutes the most important revenue model of the media, is Google's advertisement pool. It is the most preferred system by media organizations that have switched from traditional media to digital media. Media organizations can choose advertisements, from Google advertisement pool, which will be shown on their pages therefore they can determine its context and publishing criteria. This way, they can block unwanted advertisements in terms of the context. This way, media organizations choose advertisements from Google pool according to their criteria (which advertisements will be shown or not). Additionally, media organizations choose the options on the advertisement's context and its publishing.

With digitization, grant programs have become a new revenue model for media organizations. A grant is the institutional funding of the media organizations rather than by mass funding. In this process, domestic or foreign non-governmental organizations and institutions such as European Union announce a call for projects. Then, they choose and finance media organizations that are suitable for their criteria.

Apart from the income models mentioned above, there are also media organizations that earn income by selling content to other media organizations, with a digital subscription, doing production works, selling videos and photographs, or publishing weekly newspapers. These methods are the result of the search for a new income model in the digital culture other than classical advertisement.

Technological developments force media organizations to be creative by emphasizing visuality. For this reason, in a competitive environment, media organizations always need journalists with technical capital who can create

different news to make the organization visible in the digital environment and who can use the new media applications and tools to ensure that the news is clicked in terms of the elements it contains. This need is becoming more and more noticeable and reinforces the inequality of technical capital in the field.

Newsmaking Places

The transformation of technology has also changed the places where news is produced. It is a fact that during the production of the news, journalists are constantly on the move, they search for and find the news and their need of the office depends on them, therefore, journalists become mobile. This is coined as "mojo" in the literature (Ünal, 2012: 66) (mobile journalism[6]) Mojo is the journalism practice that benefits from mobile multimedia devices and that does not need cameramen or large cumbersome tools (Cameron, 2008). Mobile journalists (mojo) take part in the news production process with mobile tools that incorporate every technology. They perform all kinds of processes, from news gathering to publication, on their own. The ability to use mobile devices and being able to work outside of the office is directly related to having adequate technical capital.

Apart from mojos, in digital culture, the newsmaking process is carried out on networks in addition to physical places. Newsmaking processes, from producing to publishing, social media constitutes a place for both news production and consumption. Additionally, many actions varying from verification to data extraction are performed via these platforms. Due to these factors, it makes journalists dependent on networks and makes it necessary to have technical capital.

News Sources

The digital culture, which transforms every facet of journalism, has also digitized journalist's news sources. Stating that news sources are diversified by changing directions due to digital media, Orhan Şener[7] (2019) indicates that social media channels are an important source in this context and express that social media constitutes a significant part of these sources.

6 The term Mobile Journalism was first used in 2005 by Mackenzie Warren who is editor-in-chief at News Press Newspaper which is based in Florida, United States of America.

7 Scholar. Getting his Ph.D. on Turkish journalist's practices of reaching the news and is a half-time lecturer on New Media at Bahçeşehir University. Additionally, he is editor-in-chief at journo.com.tr and director of Turkish Journalism Union Academy.

With digitalization, the use of different news sources has become compulsory due to journalists' access to information at any time, from anywhere. In digital cultural environments, public institutions make information such as statistics accessible. Additionally, state institutions also publish press announcements in digital media. This makes it easier to access news sources and also demonstrates the necessity of skills to extract data from open sources and interpret them:

> "We are undergoing a serious transformation in terms of accessing news sources or data. Another important change is that the data of the states, the official sources of the states, the official records, they are increasingly digitalized, and journalists are able to research, collect data and produce something on them." (Sabancı[8], 2019)

20–30 years ago, while it was quite time-consuming and not easy for journalists to access dozens of resources on a subject. Now, enormous data emerged in the new environment created by new technologies. However, digital media make it possible to access even the data of a whole community. Producing news with different technical perspectives through social media platforms, open sources on the internet, and the review of the news published on the internet have become the usual practice of the field.

Big Data

People's interaction with information has changed due to digitization. People do not wait for evening news or tomorrow's newspaper to get informed about the world anymore. Now, people have access to information anytime, anywhere. Journalists also have many opportunities to access and decode the data.

> "Technologically, the possibilities of the journalists to deliver the news and to explain what is happening have changed a lot. It used to take days, weeks or even months to work on important data or documents before. However, at the present time, thanks to computers, they can easily work on the data and find what they are looking for in a short time, or they have the opportunity to tell their story in many different ways with a single channel" (Sabancı, 2019)

With the transformation of the fields, volumes of data have changed, it has become digitized and big data has been formed. Therefore, compared to big data, algorithms, codes and programming related concepts have to be handled

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8 He is a freelance journalist, author, and researcher. He writes about technology, media trends, etc. He is one of the founders of NewsLab Turkey which offers a digital workshop dedicated to journalism. He is also a newsletter editor and publishes weekly newsletters on media trends.

together by journalists. Creating the news using the necessary program increases the viewing/reading rates. At this point, the importance of having technical capital ownership manifests itself once again.

Change in the Job Definitions and New Identities

As a result of the transformation in the journalism field, many digital newsrooms have emerged. In new digital newsrooms, working hours have changed because of the speed of news. New jobs have emerged, and the number of freelance journalists has increased significantly (Uzunoğlu, 2017). These changes, which are explained by technological developments and economic conditions, precarized a number of journalists and included them in the precariation.

Digitalization has accelerated both the production and consumption of the news. The necessity to produce and publish the news in the fastest way possible brings the obligation to do more than one job at the same time. Due to the rapid flow of the news, journalists have to take both photos and videos at the same time, broadcast live on social media accounts and verify the news. Journalist, who writes and publishes his news even before going to the office, is in a race to be fast and to publish the news before other media organizations. In this competition, ones with technical capital are always one step ahead.

Due to the acceleration of the news, media organizations prefer to publish on digital platforms which changed the job definitions and brought new titles. Videomaker, photographer, storyteller, art editor, author editor, SEO expert, data analyst, content creator are some of the new job titles in journalism. Since new titles have emerged, journalists with appropriate technical capital are of choice now. Journalists, depending on their expertise, are expected to master necessary software, for example, video makers need to be able to use video making programs or data analysts need to have the necessary skills. Because of the fact that journalists need to do more than taking photographs and making videos, they are expected to do more (writing text, capturing and interpreting data, verifying news, deciphering, entering news into the interface, etc.) therefore they need more than one technical skill. Journalists who have intense technical capital prefer to work as freelancers, independent from the corporate structure.

Thanks to new media's features such as user-generated content, users/readers/audience join the newsmaking process by reporting events and visuals or publishing and sharing news on social media. Therefore, news organizations demand journalists to practice journalism in which multimedia elements are used and the content is enriched with data, in order to get more clicks.

Journalists' Use of Technical Capital

In digital culture, one of the main determinants of the position of the journalist in the field is the ability to use the tools, namely "technical capital". In the digital culture, where each stage is digitally conceptualized, the skills in news production processes have also been transformed, and digital skills have become a priority. Thus, having some technical skills, which have become a necessity of the digital environment, has been the reason why some journalists are preferred by media organizations. This research is about the technical capitals of journalists in the field who exercise the practice of journalism. Participants were asked questions about their technical skills, the ways to acquire these skills if the skills are considered to be enough from the institutional and personal perspective, the set of skills which institutions expect from their employees.

During the interviews, the ability to do more than one job at the same time is often emphasized in terms of technical skills possessed in the field. Although this does not classify as a technical skill, journalists specifically refer to this action as one. As one of the most important elements of digital culture which transformed the journalism field, speed is also the main reason why journalists have to do more than one job.

> "I realize in time that I can do more than one thing at the same time: taking videos, photographs, writing the news, maybe getting insights from people, using a voice recorder. Traditionally, you used to write the news, then somebody else edits it. It becomes independent of you. Right now, until it is published, you are responsible for everything including photograph captions. You need to use technology parallelly. Technology taught us how to trim videos, to take photographs with a certain light setting. This is an obligation." (P3, Gazete Duvar)

Submitting news on the publisher's interface is one of the technical capital of journalists. Journalists can submit news to the interface, called a system panel, from the office or by a smartphone application. Being able to use montage (production) and photoshop programs are other technical skills of journalists. Extracting data from web, carrying out a data research, decoding instantly, using Indesign which is one of the most popular programs in the desktop publishing, providing visuals to the news, creating infographics, which is to visualize a lot of information in one image, embedding animations in the news, being able to read Google Analytics program are journalist's other technical skills.

> "Sometimes our news on social media can be clicked due to the title and image. Thus, there can be a lot of interaction. Sometimes we get into our news, we can track it on Analytics, and we can monitor how long the news is being seen." (P11, sendika.org)

Although Office and montage programs have been used for more than 20 years, journalists still refer to being able to use these applications and tools as a technical capital type in the field. However, while expressing these capitals, they are also aware that these skills belong to the past.

The most critical question directed to the journalists is what kind of technical capital they *do not* have. None of the participants can code. It cannot be deduced from this situation that "nobody in the field knows how to code". However, the fact that nobody knows how to code among 25 journalists gives information about the general situation. Another deficiency in technical capital is the issue of data extraction. Although digital data can be interpreted by some journalists, there is only one person among participants who has a related professional job description. Postponing the data journalism education, putting more importance on textual based news rather than data-based news makes it inevitable for journalists to use other source's data (with a reference to the original source).

> "What we call digital data is about the economy here. Agency sends them to you. All you have to do find the previous data. And you can not find the data from TÜİK. You find it from a piece of news posted last year. I can not use digital data, I use other news pieces." (P12, T24)

Journalists have developed different methods of verifying the news. Particularly, verification in the digital environment is the most preferred method of journalists. Another verification method in the digital environment is to make use of the fact-checking website called *teyit.org*[9]. While P14 explains how s/he uses the website teyit.org, P22 provides information about how s/he verifies digitally, especially via Google:

"If I want to be confident, I ask my friends who are founders of teyit.org. I say, 'I'll write about this, can you please check it?' I realize now that it is a method that relies on people. I get a bit of help from them. I actually use the instructions from teyit.org's team." (P14, T24).

> "Searches on Twitter help us understand who is the first owner of the shared photo or video. The presence of a photo or video taken from different angles helps us verify the news. Any detail in a photo helps you find location information. For example, consider a social event, police intervention in a protest. You got a picture, but you do not know where it is. Location information is a detail that you should give while producing that news. For example, a sign in the photograph is a sign of a law firm. You can search that law firm by name and find the full address on Google, or everything from the weather

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9 *teyit.org* is a platform that fact-checks claims that circulate in the digital environment at a variety of fields.

> to the paving stone helps verify the news at some point. Paving stone can help in the following example, someone shares a photo. He shares it as İstiklal Street, but when you pay attention to the photograph, you know that from the paving stone, it is not around İstiklal Street. Therefore, that photo does not belong to Istiklal Street. Again, for example, you do not publish a photo with people in t-shirts in the winter season. So the elements in the photo help confirm the news." (P22, 140Journos)

Apart from the deficiency of technical capital, the issue of how individuals acquire technical capital is discussed under four titles. The first is of personal interest. It is found out from the interviews that individuals acquire them out of their personal interest in technology and with personal effort. Apart from personal interest, people who are born into digital culture, namely the digital natives, have the skills naturally due to their environment they are born into. Participant 3 (Gazete Duvar) states that *"Due to my age, I'm from a generation born into technology. That is why I know how to use a computer. Additionally, I had the opportunity to experience the development of smartphones"* which shows that technical capital is an ordinary skill for the generations born into the digital culture. Regarding this situation, P23 (140Journos) stated, *"Will I also teach the children born into this[digital culture]? Isn't it an advantage for these children to use technology over people in the past? What are you doing here if you can't use a computer?"*. Stating so, he expresses that the ability of digital natives to use technological equipment is as simple and internalized as using a computer. Technical capital is also acquired in collaboration with colleagues within the institutional structures. Journalists who are able to use software transfer the necessary information about software to new journalists:

> "I got education from my friends during the long time I was practicing video-activism and alternative media journalism. They taught me how to use technical devices such as video camera, camera, voice recorder, etc." (P4, Gazete Duvar).

Journalists who graduated from the faculties of communication are assumed to have the basic but necessary technical skills, therefore, media organizations hire them with this assumption. On the other hand, the skill of the graduates of Statistics or Engineering Faculties in extracting data, interpreting and visualizing numerical data is remarkable.

> "I live off by my engineering education, and if it's actually something that I don't understand the formulation or interpretation of it, I sit down and read the topic first. I am researching what the subject is and I examine what I needed to look at, how I should do the calculation. But in terms of visualization of data, for example, we did a lot of infographic work. In those cases, I want help from friends who are a little closer to data journalism and also from friends in the design department. But the method I use to work with data is all about my engineering." (P14, T24)

Journalists also acquire technical capital via in-house training courses. Some media organizations, alternative media organizations in particular, provide training on certain subjects to the journalists.

> "Basic rules of journalism, history of media, critical approach, alternative media. Education on this trio is provided. Additionally, education is provided on new media tools. Many international alternative media organizations or others organize education. We share the education organized by them and try to send the journalists depending on our opportunities" (Ali Ergin Demirhan, Coordinator of sendika.org).

However, according to the International Journalism Center's (IJFC) Report on Technology Use in the Newsrooms (2017), journalists are not able to overcome their digital ability shortcomings because they are not trained in line with the skills they need. Accordingly, although the journalists need skills regarding data journalism, cybersecurity, coding, web design, and web, the training offered to them is generally on social media (Şener, 2017).

The actors who practice journalism are divided into three different groups regarding their ability to use the technological tools they have in the field of journalism: While the first group thinks that their technical capital is sufficient for them, the other group does not find their capitals sufficient and wants to acquire more technical capital. The last group considers its technical capital as adequate.

> "I never think technological skills are enough for me because it is progressing very fast and I cannot follow it like most people do. Sometimes there are moments that I catch up but I often have to run after it. Therefore, the programs I use, that is, the programs in the computer in terms of software are already limited to one or two, and yes, I can turn into someone who can prepare better presentations. I am preparing a presentation in a program called Keynote and this is [my presentation] a 5-point presentation. But it is such an endless world that I can raise it to 9 points" (K20, 140Journos)

According to journalists who find their technical capital sufficient, journalism is not a complex job, so it is enough to have sufficient knowledge to carry out the work. Especially the journalists in the field do not consider it necessary to have much technical capital since they are not editors. According to them, it is more important for editors to have the ability to use technological tools. Even though they see technical capital ownership as sufficient, they emphasize that they are open to technological innovations and their thoughts imply that they have a fear of lagging behind.

The way to keep the struggle alive in the journalism field and to exist in the field is through technical capital in digital culture. Even if they are aware of this situation, the journalists postpone or neglect to expand their technical capital

because they think learning something will result in time loss or will cause extra workload.

Media organizations also have some expectations from journalists regarding technical capital. Having a grasp of digital media, namely internet literacy, is first among the common expectations. In the context of internet literacy, the basic point is to know how to use the search engine and to search for a topic by keyword, to verify the photo in digital media, to verify the information and images circulating in social media. Digital alternative media organizations mostly work with digital natives. Therefore, the expectations or, in fact, practices stated above, are described as routine work practices rather than skills. Sendika.org General Coordinator Ali Ergin Demirhan stated that "*We want routine, simple things*" (face-to-face meeting, 2018). T24 Founder and Editor-in-Chief Doğan Akın also explains that they do not have high expectations by saying *"we do not expect knowledge[skills] at the coding level"* (face-to-face interview, 2018).

> "Actually, it is internet literacy and it is technology literacy. What is a VGA cable? What is an HDMI cable? How do they transfer the visuals? What is the thing that transfers display and sound? How to use the mobile application? How to use Google Drive? These are the basic capabilities of our generation. These are not very questioned matters. It is no longer questioned whether or not to know them. Because it is assumed that everyone in this area knows them. You directly get a link, a Google Drive link. If you don't know this world, it is obvious [recognizable that a person does not know it]" (Engin Önder, 140Journos Founder)

Expectations of media organizations are in line with the conditions of journalism in Turkey. It is obvious that the journalists do not have a large volume of technical capital since Turkey is lagging behind the digital culture. Under these conditions, media organizations do not have big expectations from journalists.

Conclusion and Evaluation

Just like other fields, in the field of journalism digitalization results in intense changes. Reasons, such as easy and fast access to information, rapid spread, and consumption of news, diversification of news sources and content, improvement of tools make it necessary to hold required technical skills to use technological tools in addition to professional experience. Skills to use technological tools, which is expressed by Bourdieu as "skills to use tools" and which Yardi (2009; 2010) and Hayhoe et al. (2015) conceptualizes as "technical capital" adds up to other types of capital journalists have in the field (economic, cultural and social capitals) and make their symbolic capital even stronger. Because in digital

culture, everything is produced and consumed at networks. The news-making process is on networks now.

In contrast to traditional culture, in digital culture, journalists are not confined to routine news of accidents, natural disasters and to speech texts. Along with the transforming age, data of the news and their volumes have changed, digitalized creating the big data. Therefore, nowadays algorithms, codes, and concepts related to programming need to be considered altogether by the journalists. In the global world, the transformation of journalism requires journalists to work with big data, report and analyze it and also to code. Due to this necessity, the speed is the main factor and the factors speed bring along is in effect. Apart from the traditional advertisement concept, different income models are at the top of these factors. At the media organizations that use income models which feeds from reader, news has to be made in accordance with the reader's preferences, therefore, this makes it important to create news that visuality is at the forefront and that appeals to the sense of sight and hearing rather than leading them to read.

Digital culture has changed the structure of news sources and carried these sources to networks. While many phases regarding to the news sources, such as communication with them and announcing of the demand for sources and verification of the news, take place in the digital environment, journalists are expected to show their talents related to these settings.

While digital culture creates many sub-fields in journalism such as; drone journalism, data journalism, etc., it is expected that journalists', who will work in these newly emerging sub-fields and who will work under new job titles, competencies to be suitable for the purpose of the field. Apart from that, the journalists' position in the field can become debatable due to the active participation of the reader/viewer to the process of news production, therefore, putting forward the technical skills of the journalist is a crucial factor that determines his position in this field.

Technical capital is a concept that generally refers to inequality. Bourdieu (1986) analyzed technical capital under the title of cultural capital as "ability to use technological tools". Technical capital, conceptually, expresses the inequality which is also the subject of the study. This inequality shows itself in capital ownership (Bourdieu, 2015a; Smith, 2005). Inequality in this matter appears in various ways in the field. For those who have economic capital, expanding technical capital volume via acquiring tools and getting an education is much higher than the ones who do not have large financial capital. On the other hand, the main role of the ownership of this capital is at digital, local-digital migrant distinction. Those who were born into the digital environment, namely the digital natives,

internalized technological tools more than digital immigrants do. While digital immigrants possess technical capital, they consider it as a professional obligation.

Inequality in technical capital ownership also appears between journalists who work in traditional media and digital media. Even though news production processes are the same in both media, there is a time distinction in terms of publication (in newspapers the publication time for the news is the day after, whereas on television it is hourly and for the digital media news can be cast anytime). This distinction causes inequality between these two media channels due to the speed factor. Technical capitals of Turkish and other journalists from other countries are not equal either. Journalists' technical capitals in Turkey are much less in volume than the journalists across the globe. Journalists in many countries use the new technology, which are the products of digital culture, with all aspects in the journalism field which is transformed by digital culture. They apply these technologies to news production processes that provide convenience. However, it is not possible to mention such a journalism environment in Turkish journalism yet. Media organizations in Turkey expect the minimum level of technical capital from journalists. Whereas, many media companies in developed countries demand technical skills varying from the knowledge of algorithms to coding.

Obviously, not all journalists can be expected to have all the technological skills. Some journalists specialize in collecting data, events or images, some interpreting them and some creating stories based on the facts. Personal interest and willingness to learn are in the foreground. Media organizations and individuals themselves have a duty to acquire and improve technical capital. Media organizations should encourage and support journalists to increase their capital and organize education on the subject as much as possible. Journalists should also be aware that technical capital ownership plays an important role in strengthening their position in the field and should be open to technological innovations in the field. Moreover, if media organizations raise their expectations from journalists to the maximum level, their technical capital volume would increase, and they will benefit from opportunities of digitalization to the fullest. Otherwise, deficiency of technical capital will have a negative impact on the journalist day by day and the adaptation process to the ever-changing technology in the field would be delayed.

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Özgehan Özkan

Generations, Genders and Priorities: On Digital and Printed Newspapers

Introduction

The recording and transferring of the information in time/space dates back in 3200s B.C. with the invention of the writing but the need for knowledge has always existed. Compared to other species, the only way of human beings to survive is to develop a language, communicate and have “knowledge. For this reason, journalism, which can be defined as ”the job of providing full, accurate, multifaceted and up-to-date information on crowd-pleasing issues will exist as long as people exist, even though the tools and media they use change. Among the discussions about journalism today, a question become prominent “Is there a future of printed papers in a world where digital journalism exists, in a world where every online citizen is somehow a journalist?”

In this study, the comparison of traditional and online newspapers was made. Advantages and disadvantages of them were discussed in terms of the reader and the media institutions. Assessments about whether the printed newspapers will go out of existence and the predictions are given with their reasons. The focus is on the innovations and transformations that traditional newspapers should do in order to survive against their powerful digital competitors. In addition, a sample survey with 252 people were conducted to reflect the demographic structure of Turkish population (age, gender, education, occupation, income level, etc.) as widely as possible and the preference status between printed and digital newspapers was questioned.

The survey results demonstrate that Turkish society has not wanted to dispense with traditional newspapers yet. When it is discussed about Turkish society, it is not possible to make a prediction to mention that “The printed press has come to an end” due to reasons such as a general mistrust to the internet and an emotional tie from the habit of touching paper. The main reason why online newspapers are preferred is that all newspapers are free to access because there is no paid subscription in Turkey and online newspapers have practical benefits of use. Otherwise, traditional newspapers become prominent when trust and content quality are discussed.

The main problem of the research is to make a comparison between traditional newspapers and internet newspapers, and to evaluate this by analyzing the preferences of readers. With closed and open-ended questions, the approach of the readers with different demographic characteristics to traditional newspapers and online newspapers was tried to be determined. In this context, it is aimed to be a research that can contribute to the literature in terms of examining the preferences of readers.

Discussions about how traditional newspapers will change against online newspapers are mainly handled among media members, and the focus of these discussions is whether printed newspapers come to an end or continue to be printed. In the academic literature, an objective comparison is mainly made and the alternative implementations, which traditional newspapers can maintain to be competitive, are emphasized.

In their research, Aydoğan and Kırık (2012: 58–69) discussed the characteristics that distinguish new media from traditional media and emphasized the structure of the new media that makes audiences active. Özdemir and İlhan (2012: 807–816) compared traditional journalism and virtual journalism. They examined how online journalism shapes and transforms the process of gathering, writing and distributing news in journalism. Aktaş (2012: 1–18) examined how the use of QR code on their pages could affect traditional newspapers in order to survive against new media. He searched for an answer that the readers became more active and participative with the QR code and this could be regarded as a competitive factor for traditional newspapers against online newspapers. Yurdigül and Yüksel (2012: 140–161) examined that there is a transformation from one-way communication to discussion with the new media and therefore, amateurism increased, everyone could become a distributor and all these innovations changed the media. They revealed the basic dynamics of this new situation by making a survey and face to face interview with people, who involved in the process of news production, and news channels that broadcast in Turkey.

Comparison of Traditional and Online Newspapers

As a basis for this study, it is useful to compare the advantages and disadvantages of printed and online newspapers against each other.

Advantages of Online Newspapers over Traditional Newspapers

Some of the characteristics of online newspapers, which result from their structural and technical characteristics, make them advantageous over traditional newspapers. These advantages include both the newspaper and the reader. It is beneficial to mention the main ones.

Reader Participation

There is no "space" restriction and no cost of paper/ink in digital media. It is, therefore, possible to expand the content. Since the 90's, when the internet is a part of daily life, everyone has gained the opportunity to be visible and audible. The word communication is now the equivalent of the reciprocal verb. Not one-way transmission from the media to the target audience, but two-way communication from the target audience to the media and to the whole world has started to be experienced with the internet. One of the concepts to focus on at this point is interactivity. In other words, only the mass media does not send messages to the target audience unilaterally, and accordingly, there is no unilateral influence, and the reader/audience takes its place in the process with feedback. According to Saka (2012: 36) as cited in Vin Crosbie (2002), it can be said that interactivity emerged as a third type of media with new media. Thus, it indicates that multiple-to-multiple communication is possible in addition to one-to-one and one-to-many media types.

One of the most important advantages of online newspapers over traditional newspapers is the structure that allows reader to express himself. "People who are positioned as receiver, audience, listeners and readers in traditional media are characterized as users in new media environments. People who are evaluated in the horizontal and passive position of consumers in the traditional concept of mass production have become owners of their own media as prosumer users, in Toffler's words, who produce them at the same time as they consume them in new media environments with this change" (Buluş ve İşman, 2017: 66). This new structure is, of course, more appropriate for the newspaper's function as being the fourth power and the voice of the silent.

"The invention of the writing initiated a process of communication in which other than those who had power in the society could participate; the discovery of the printing press made mass consumption possible; and digital technology revealed production possibilities as well as mass consumption" (Binatlı, 2011: 1,2). This form of production varies according to the general publication policy of the internet newspaper. Some newspapers give their readers the opportunity to contribute as content producers and publish their news, images and articles. While

some internet newspapers do not recognize such a wide area, they offer the opportunity to comment under the news. Some newspapers require membership to comment; while some newspapers, without being members, publish their readers' comments after having checked by the editor. The reflection of these practices in traditional newspapers will only be manifested as a vague process in the form of reaching/not reaching the relevant person in the newspaper via e-mails or receiving/not receiving a response. Or, if the newspaper has a reader representative, the messages of the reader that is selected by him/her can find a place in the newspaper. If there is a page dedicated to readers such as "Your Corner" and "Readers' Corner", then those who have been eliminated will be able to find a place on these pages. Traditional newspapers offer a limited and inadequate expression for their readers compared to online newspapers.

Speed and Update

Speed is one of the indispensable elements of news such as public interest, accuracy, objectivity, versatility, and proximity. The newspaper is a periodical publication and its lifespan is only one day. Once the newspaper has been printed on paper, it is not possible to update it after it is distributed. Newspapers make reprint when major developments occur, but the process of reprint, no matter how fast the distribution process is, is not able to compete with the update speed in the internet newspaper. "Flash news" can be transmitted immediately in internet newspapers. Accessing data in digital media is much cheaper and faster than in traditional methods (Kara, 2005: 104). The constantly updated animated nature of online newspapers is an element of attraction for readers. This movement of online newspapers is a cause of choice for the "speed" person of modern times who is in the mood of "if I am missing something", their pulse also rises when the battery starts to decrease.

Capacity

Traditional newspapers have a top-page limit on which they can be printed despite having no paper cost issue. If they are printed with attachments on the days with special agenda, they can be up to 45–50 pages. When paper imports linked to local and foreign currency is added to this issue, the content that can be presented to the reader is limited. One of the advantages of online newspapers over traditional newspapers is that they do not have such limitations. Quantitative content density of online newspapers can be evaluated in two items:

Multimedia

Multimedia is another superior feature of online newspapers versus traditional newspapers. A reader who enters the website can see all of the possibilities such as photos, audio, video, written text in the same media. According to Kalsın (2016: 77), online newspapers have gone beyond expectations and even dreams in a very short time to a different dimension by going from the mass media, which has a singular point of view, such as newspapers, magazines, television and radio, which are the classic tools of communication. The detailed discussions on this topic have also been examined by many researchers including Pavlik (2000), Castells (2012) and Fuchs (2009). "Multimedia style is also closely related to the reader who is also becoming a writer. Text in the internet have the characteristics of content that includes not only for media professionals, but also for all users in accordance with the existing technological possibilities of the written, audio and visual elements and motion images at the same time" (Parlak, 2018: 73).

It is also possible to evaluate the ease of connection with social media networks within hypertextuality. The contents of online newspapers such as columns, news, photos, news videos, are available to be shared on readers ‘ social media accounts. "New communication technologies give people a new medium, called social media, in which they can share their thoughts, and works, thus; in which sharing and discussing are essential. While communication was seen in the form of body language, verbal and written communication, mass communication used these common codes to create a new form of communication that would affect millions of people. Digital media, which is incorporated into mass media channels today, has been an even more fascinating and addictive form of communication that many people sit in front of the computer, tablet, mobile phone through which they can connect to social media" (Kalaylar, 2015:115).The direct link of online newspapers with social media networks is another aspect that is an advantage over traditional newspapers.

Hypertextuality

"Hypertextuality, in a word, is to have an easy access to other alternative media over the network"(Binark, 2009). "Thanks to hypertexts that allow users to move freely between pages and express a myriad of linked texts, online text can be associated with each other by making it possible to move between an infinite number of pages" (Dalgalıdere et al., 2015: 19). For instance, the reader, who reads an archaeological report on the discovery of a 2000-year-old ceramic vessel, from here on, can access some other texts such as about the civilization to which the vessel belongs, about the methods of determining the age of archaeological finds,

via the same site. In traditional newspapers, if the reader wants to read another topic that attracts his/her attention when s/he reads the news, s/he has to turn to other media for this aim. The sense of "I want it immediately, I want it now, I want it without effort" that dominates the spirit of the time leads the reader other ways like to postpone or "let it go" instead of doing research on the other subject of interest.

Size of the Target Audience

Since the main purpose of journalism is to deliver news to the masses, the internet provides an important opportunity for newspapers and journalists (Bekiroğlu and Bal, 2006: 72). National newspapers printed on paper are distributed throughout the country, while those printed abroad are also available. Local newspapers are also available for sale in situ. However, the internet newspaper, whether it is local or national is open to the access of any person with internet connection in the world. "As it is possible for new media to interactively digitize existing media and transform it into shared value, this partnership expands the target audience of internet journalism"(Alioğlu, 2011: 61). Firstly, it is essential to raise interest by attracting attention on issues concerning the general public, to inform the society through media, to have ideas in line with their own world view, and to reach the widest possible audience in the long term in order to form public in a healthy way and in this respect, online newspapers are superior to traditional newspapers.

Cost

Online newspapers have an undisputed cost advantage over traditional newspapers, both for readers and for newspaper members including both staff and owners. When the subject is evaluated in the eye of readers, it should be bought from the dealer for each newspaper. As of 2019, newspapers are sold between 75 kuruş and 2 TL[1]. If a reader wants to read more than one newspaper, he or she must go to the newsstand and buy each newspaper. For a reader who buys regular newspapers, the monthly average cost is 50–60 TL, considering that one newspaper is bought and the possibility of price increases at weekends is added. The net monthly minimum wage for 2019 is 2,020,90 TL per month. (355,52 USA Dolar).This price is difficult to afford for a family that has to live with minimum wage. However, it is possible to read all national newspapers in

1 2TL= 0.35 American Dolar

digital media for a fixed internet price. Since there are no national newspapers in Turkey that charge on-line subscriptions, the possibility of free access to content is one of the most important advantages of online newspapers over traditional newspapers.

When the issue of cost is evaluated by the newspaper, it is seen that online newspapers have advantages against traditional newspapers. Traditional newspapers have expense items such as paper, ink, distribution, technological cost required by the printing process, obligation to employ more employees, costs specific to the building where overcrowded staff work. Moreover, output is a product of ideas; the balance of expenditure-income has its own disadvantage. “Among the sources of revenue of press enterprises are sales, promotional and advertising revenues. Among these revenues, sales revenues constitute approximately 1/4 of the total revenues, thus it shows that sales revenues alone are impossible to meet the total cost of production” (Bulunmaz, 2010:58). Press companies like other commercial enterprises, that do not have the opportunity to make profit only through sales revenues, and even sometimes cannot bear the cost, are dependent on advertising and advertising revenues. According to Curran (2017: 125–126) the old news media faces a new and formidable competitor in advertising, such as the internet, which is cheap and can reach a wide audience. Moreover, it is also good at targeting consumers who tend to buy. The Internet has already captured the bulk of classified press advertising. This is one of the most important weaknesses of traditional newspapers against online newspapers.

Both the revenues and costs of online newspapers are low. The cost difference between setting up a website and setting up a newspaper is enormous. Moreover, the online newspapers’ content costs are not as much of traditional newspapers. Since the legal audit is not sufficient yet, the content can be filled out from other media without specifying any sources. For newspapers that allow active participation of the reader, the cost of this duty is even lower. According to Özcaglayan (2008: 150) based on a comparison of the newspaper model developed by Picard it is found that a midsize newspaper has a circulation of 38,000 in the United States; approximately 12.4 million dollars in revenue with expenses of $ 8.4 million and profit/loss ratio that is calculated as 32.4 % of a newspaper when it is released online, printing and distribution costs at a significant rate to have disappeared (not even if all other costs were to have remained constant), with a cost of 3.65 million dollars, can provide 44 % of extra savings. When this issue is considered on Turkey, the picture becomes even heavier for traditional newspapers. One of the biggest disadvantages of traditional newspapers is that they are dependent on paper. Paper production in Turkey can only meet 4 % of

the need. Moreover, this is a group of papers other than newspaper. Turkey is completely foreign-dependent on the paper of newspaper. The cost of foreign currency-based imported newsprint paper is high enough to bring newspapers to the point of closure.

İbrahim Irmak, who is Publisher and Chief Editor of Haber Hürriyeti that is one of the local newspapers of Izmir, states the following information about the cost of printing a newspaper:

> The paper cost (42.5 gr – Newsprint) of printing 10000 newspapers with 40 pages is solely 12,500 TL (2000 Dollars). The cost of newspapers cannot be calculated merely as printing and paper. There are also distribution fees. Distribution can be provided by courier, post, and newspaper delivery companies. The cost of each of them is different. There is a fixed price changing according to the number of newspapers. This is approximately 3000 TL (480 Dollars). Additional shipping cost, additional 25 % commission (over the sale price) is added to this fixed price. The newspaper also has costs before the printing house. Office expenses, personnel wages, insurances, taxes are also calculated in the newspaper cost. At least 10 designers are needed to design a daily newspaper with 40 pages.

To give a few examples of how dependence on imported paper affects traditional newspapers in Turkey:

All newspapers have reduced their page numbers. The newspaper called Sözcü closed its allocation service. The newspaper, Yeni Şafak, hired 30 employees away. Especially in the period 2018–2019, the increase in paper prices depending on the dollar caused a national mass newspaper such as Haberturk to decide to continue on the internet version only. The sports newspaper AMK also took its place among the newspapers which had stopped their publication altogether. Some newspapers, such as Aydınlık, had to delay their daily publications. This applies to the local press as well. Seven local newspapers in Sakarya, for instance, have decided not to publish on Sundays. These practices have led to the emergence of a new structure completely contrary to the nature of journalism. Fourteen-year-old local newspaper in Izmir called Özgür Ses decided to be published one day a week. However, the most important feature of a newspaper is to give its readers daily flash news. Under these circumstances, traditional newspapers have or not have against online newspapers fall regardless of the reader preference.

The internet sites of newspapers in Turkey offer their content to readers free. Anyone with an internet connection from any device can access all of these contents. According to the 2019 Turkey data of the internet and social media statistics published annually by the We are social and Hootsuit research companies, there are 59.36 million Internet users that constitutes 72 % of the population. In this case, they do not want to pay and buy for the printed newspapers. The main

disadvantage of traditional newspapers in the war of existence against online newspapers is the cost problem, especially in Turkey.

Ease of Use

The average size of a traditional newspaper is 57x38 cm. A suitable place is needed to read it. It is not suitable for reading in places such as on public transport, or while waiting in lines somewhere, etc. For this reason, newspapers in many countries, particularly in the England, are produced in tabloid size (average 35x25 cm).Today, all the major newspapers in the England, except the Daily Telegraph, are now in tabloid size. However, tabloid size is not adopted by newspaper readers. On 17.10.2010, Radikal newspaper was first published in tabloid size, but it was not adopted by the readers and other newspapers did not follow this practice. Four years later the Radikal newspaper completely abolished the printed publication. Online newspapers, on the other hand, can be reduced to the size of a telephone, so they have advantages compared to traditional newspapers with the practicality of reading in all conditions. Another negative feature of traditional newspapers in terms of ease of use compared to internet newspapers is the black and colored ink used in writing and images. They do not have an easily readable structure in every place in terms of painting hands and clothes. This is one of the reasons why the idea of printing only at the weekends on the platforms where the future of printed newspapers is discussed. It is anticipated that traditional newspapers will be more in demand on rest days, in time zones without time pressure, in places such as houses, cafeterias, picnics, etc.

Demassification

"Although new media is aimed at the masses, it can be very private, so it is demassified. Data, information, or news flow can be provided from one source to more than one recipient, as well as private information, data flow can take place to one recipient. Thus, different content can be presented to each user" (Kırık, 2017: 235). Traditional newspapers are printed after the content and page layouts are determined, and reach all readers in this form. However, in line with the possibilities provided by the digital media, internet newspapers can present "private" content by highlighting the news according to the interests of each reader. Search engines show advertisements for the content they are looking for to the reader of the online newspaper.

Easy Access to Archives

If the reader wishes to see what the newspapers wrote in the past in relation to any subject, s/he has to go places such as the National Library, the newspaper's own archive, the second-hand bookseller, etc. and engage in a long and laborious search. S/he has to manually scan all the old numbers one by one and find the subjects he is looking for. However, it is possible to do word-based searches in internet newspapers within seconds.

Advantages of Traditional Newspapers over Online Newspapers

Traditional newspapers also have advantages in terms of content whether online newspapers have an advantage over traditional newspapers due to their technical and structural characteristics. Emotional attachment is one of these advantages. It is beneficial to give detailed information on these advantages.

Content Quality

The only way for traditional newspapers to survive against all the advantages of online newspapers is to strengthen their content. ". . .the Journalism (Day, week, city, or even country) doesn't offer only news, at the same time, it tells the story what was new or meaningful about what is happening in the world, understand it in that context, and explains it to others makes it available to be used for the needs of others" (Haaket al. 2017: 71).On the other hand, it is less common to find content in Internet newspapers that have been given a follow-up, if they have different interlocutors, in a meaningful integrity loyal to the context of the news. In fact, most of the time, the hidden subject news is presented without paying attention to 5WS1H.For instance, "two cups of coffee a day is said to strengthen memory", "Possible Istanbul earthquake will be very destructive". It is not included in the news about which university and which scientists give this information based on what kind of research. The subject of the news is either hidden or a vague expression, such as "experts". But traditional newspapers are less likely to transmit this type of misleading content.

Reader Loyalty

People with a habit of buying regular newspapers show a long-standing commitment to their newspaper, rather than buying other newspapers every day. They have a loyalty to general editorial policy, columnists, its logo, layout, the attachments it gives on certain days, the familiarity of knowing which types of news are on which Page, and so the newspaper has become a natural part of

their life routine. However, it is difficult to see the same loyalty in an individual who prefers to read newspapers online. The nature of reading from digital is the speed, and there is a practice of reading, which is spent browsing the visuals, titles and spots rather than reading the news at length. They do not just "read" a single newspaper; they "look at" many newspapers. Toruk (2008: 332) indicates that this devotion of the reader is one of the important factors in maintaining the reputation of traditional journalism. In this respect, it is possible to evaluate the reader loyalty, which is one of the advantages of the traditional newspaper to the online newspaper, along with the reputation of the newspaper.

Reliability

Traditional newspapers are permanent. They are documents. Each newspaper is preserved in the national libraries and archives. The author of the content is obvious. Its corporate identity, marking tag, and duty distribution are clear. Content is created by knowing that you will be responsible for each line written. While some newspapers control themselves through their readers 'representatives, they are wary of going outside their ethical boundaries in order to maintain the reputation of traditional newspapers, even if they do not have readers' representatives. However, the content can be instantly deleted and updated in Internet newspapers. The author of the content may not always be specified. Websites can create content with "excerpt", "compilation", and "copy-paste" news without showing sources. This does not have any legal supervision or sanction. "Rumors, inaccurate, untrue, or distorted information, and news spread all over the world at great speed without being subject to a process of pre-editorial control" (Erdoğan, 2013: 256).The media, whose purpose of existence is to be "the voice of the readers" and "The voice of the silent", has become damaging to the society in which it resides with unreal content instead of acting in the direction of the interests of the readers.

For newspapers, speed is one of the most important elements of journalism. However, the need for fresh journalism does not mean that sloppy content, whose accuracy has not been confirmed, can be made available to the reader. One of the most common negativity in Internet newspapers is the misleading of the reader by presenting Unreal or disconnected content under the name of "news" with the concern of giving flash news. As Narin (2017: 213) cited from Mico, the speed race, one of the major factors determining the working conditions of an internet journalist, leads to the publication of manipulative images and unproven news. Death news can be mentioned to give an example of the wrong content published in internet newspapers due to speed worry. The rumor, spread from

an obscure source that a well-known person has died, is published with speed worry, without confirmation of its accuracy from alternative sources. There is a multifaceted ethical violation, both in terms of misinformation of the reader, and also because of the difficult situation in which the family of the subject person.

In this study, which the situation of traditional newspapers and online newspapers are discussed in the eyes of the readers, it is beneficial to mention the subject of "fake news" as a problem related to journalism. Publishing fake news is not a new issue. Writing fake news has always been a method for the interests of readers, the increase of distribution, and advertising. For example, "Bearded Baby", published as subhead of Tan, a national newspaper, dated 01.08.1987, has taken its place in the history of Turkish journalism as one of the most typical false news. This approach has still continued today. The Oxford Dictionary has announced "post-truth" as the word of 2016. This term indicates that audiences in this era have tendency to believe in lies rather than truths. As a solution to this negative picture, implementations such as media literacy education and verification platforms become prominent.

The "day" publication experienced by traditional newspaper workers has become the "minute" publication in internet newspapers. It is inevitable that quality is the first principle to be compromised in a medium that needs to be achieved so quickly and that must be consistently attractive to advertisers.

Traditional newspapers have no worries to follow more clicks for their news due to their structures. Therefore, the use of "click bait" is a rare practice in traditional newspapers. Itis necessary to draw attention to the title, but it does not mean to throw a misleading title away from the context. One of the hallmarks of the journalism quality is the ability of giving a headline. It is a job that requires experience and a bit of "journalist spirit" to give a title that is not far from reality far away and attracts the reader. This is one of the elements that make traditional newspapers respectable and reliable.

It is necessary to increase the circulation of the traditional newspaper and thus strengthen its content in order to get more advertisements by attracting the advertisers. Detailed private news must provide content that will improve the quality of the profession, such as conveying the developments that are subject to the news on the basis of continuity in the news. It is necessary to increase the number of clicks to get a share of the Advertisement in online newspapers, and instead of providing quality content, thus, practices that are completely outside of the professional ethics are carried out. For instance:

- Incompatibility of the title with the content. "Although the reader is directed to the page with expectations and disappointed when the news text does not

meet the text that is appropriate to his/her expectations, but the publisher is now reaching his/ her goal." (Dönmez, 2010: 107). This goal is to keep the reader on the website and click as many pages as possible. As a matter of fact, it is the number of visitors and visitor mobility of the site that will make a website attractive to advertisers.

- Incompatibility of the visual with the content
- Using titles that are frightened, inciting panic to the reader. This is very common in health news, earth science news and astronomy news. For example, Özkan's (2016) survey of the leading mainstream Turkish newspapers Hürriyet, Milliyet, Posta, Haber Turk newspapers' in which he examined quarterly health news on their websites revealed that health news presented misleading content due to the worry to be followed more.

In addition, such misleading contents in policy news can trigger a wave of influence that can have far more serious international consequences. "A lot of news and information, whose source is unclear, can also be included in this share. Some of the possible consequences are the fact that obscure news, unclear information, images that have been destroyed or altered by various techniques, could create conflict environments on the agenda of countries or the world, create waves of panic, and pit societies against others" (Erdoğan, 2013: 256).

- Directing readers to click on numerous pages to get the origin of the curious information given in the title
- Using of titles, spots and visuals, especially in health news, that mislead the readers, lead them to wrong treatments or cause them to end their current medical treatment

As well as the motivation of advertising, the lack of systematic editorial supervision under the presentation of this unethical content is also effective in the Internet newspapers.

The Reception Style of Readers about the News

Reading daily news through traditional newspapers instead of internet newspapers also has advantages for readers. The online media is, by its nature, identical with "speed". The nature of learning, on the contrary, contains slowness. There is a "no rush" structure, such as reading the text, going back to the beginning and re-reading for the part that is not understood, and thinking on it. It also requires loneliness. In the societies in which the internet is active, there is a constant feeling of "missing out" and the perception of loneliness as a problem, almost a disease. Not being alone in Eastern societies like in Turkey is

one of the reasons why even the printing press came to the country late. Indeed, even learning is a behavior of community. Therefore, reading newspapers on the internet, by its nature, activates the urge to settle for headlines, images and spots and move on to the "next one".

"It is also possible to browse; browse through between pages is possible in physical environments such as paper. But studies suggest that 'casual' consumption habits are more intensely observed in digital environments. While a reading style that researchers called as 'focused' and 'in-depth' is dominant in papers, searching for keywords with 'browsing' on digital screens, a 'tunnel vision' can emerge which sometimes takes people out of context due to a 'non-linear reading' method" (Kızılkaya, 2018). It is possible to say that while news that is disconnected from context due to worry not to be clicked is common in Internet newspapers, it is also possible to express that the same step occurs in the eyes of the reader because of the nature of digital reading.

Reading not only the news but also any text on the screen and reading from paper also has an impact on understanding. It is concluded by a study conducted by Ercan and Ateş (2015) with 123 sixth graders in five different public schools in Konya for a period of two weeks that the students had a better understanding of the texts they read from the paper. Journalism is the first ring in the formation of public opinion. It is the duty of the press to draw the attention of society to a matter of news that concerns the public and newsworthy, to arouse its interest and to inform it. For this reason, it is important how the news is presented as well as how the reader receives it. It is possible to express that traditional newspapers are superior to internet newspapers when it comes to understanding and being informed, rather than being exposed to superficial data.

Editorial Control

The corporate identity of traditional newspapers has already formed. There are many controls and control mechanisms in the process of the news until it reaches the reader. Çakır (2007: 140) states that this situation is organized with a strict hierarchy in traditional journalism and that decisions are determined within a strong chain of command until the publication of the news. In traditional newspapers, the process from the moment the reporter brings the news to the newspaper until the newspaper reaches the reader goes through the editorial control filter. However, if there is a wrong, the victim has the right to answer and correct, and the right to countermand is legally guaranteed. Online newspapers do not have the same hierarchical control mechanism. As Kılıç (2003: 65) cited in Brooks and Sissors, it is emphasized by professionals that in recent years the

editorial organization and its associated content have changed, and that three main reasons have been influential on this change. The first factor is the need for technological development to facilitate and diversify the stages of the news production process, the second is the search for new markets for the emerging media industry due to the commercialization of the news, and the third is the necessity of the advertising industry to seek publications suitable for its own target mass. Particularly in relation to the third factor, it is agreed that advertising forces the means of communication into change and evolution.

The "Non-Irritant" Advertisements

Advertisements in printed newspapers are not intended to disturb the reading comfort of the reader. The reader can fold his/her newspaper any way s/he wants and read any content. Internet newspapers, more generally internet media have a wide variety of advertising design methods. Özen and Sari (2008: 16–18) indicate primary advertising designs as only text, standard graphics, interactive flash, standard banner, vertical banner, pop-up ad, floating banner, rollover banner, showcase banner, top-roll banner, interstitial and supercitial, and search engine advertisements. According to the type of text that the reader wants to read, sometimes they are covering the whole page and cannot be saved without waiting for a few seconds, some of the close button is carefully hidden and the reader is exposed, some ads give voice spontaneously despite the sound button is not pressed, some of them are animated and lit in a way that makes it impossible for the reader to pay attention to the text, and some advertisements appear suddenly on the page when the reader is in full text. In short, advertising tolerance for readers who want to read online newspapers has turned into a difficult compromise. As stated above, the screen, which has disadvantages against paper in terms of understanding the content, distorts the reader from meaning because of these advertisements.

Clear Distinction between Advertisements and News

Advertisements prepared in the form of news text in online newspapers are misleading on the reader. Although a section of the content contains the phrase "This is an advertisement", the possibility that the advertisement, which is carefully designed to overlook this information, will be perceived as news is a major ethical problem. "Advertisements which are prepared in the form of web pages that are used for news content and advertising are not clearly separated and links to the news are added and redirected to another page on the network are emerging as applications that damage reliability. On the other hand, public relations

companies and advertisers make efforts to use the opportunities brought by new communication technologies and create pressure for the realization of public relations and publicity activities integrated with the editorial process" Geray and Aydoğan, 2010: 314). Under these circumstances, it would be very optimistic to expect a publication policy from the internet newspaper that prioritizes the principle of informing the reader correctly.

Advertisements that are designed to create a perception of news text are also seen in traditional media. It is stated as an advertisement with a sentence written in 8–9-point characters. However, as stated by supporting results of the studies above, the effect of reading from paper and reading from the screen on understanding and perception is different. In a fast, intense and moving visual atmosphere, the reader's perception of what is advertising and what is news is much lower than that of a paper reader.

Is Traditional Newspapers Come to an End? What Can Be Done?

After providing a general framework on the advantages and shortcomings of traditional and internet newspapers over each other, the question arises whether the printed papers will sooner or later disappear, or will their unique advantages continue to exist. This is one of the leading discussion topics recently, both in academic studies and in the media sector.

According to a research conducting by KPMG consulting company in 2017 it is stated that it would be difficult for traditional newspapers to survive if they did not go through a restructuring as content. The part to focus on in this assessment is the expression "if it does not go to a restructuring". On the contrary, there are opinions that the printed newspaper will survive. However, the argument of the proponents of this view is that traditional newspapers must subject their content and publishing policies to a serious update.

There has been a debate over whether traditional newspapers have come to since the early 2000s.One of the platforms in which one of these debates is conducted is the 57th WAN Congress organized by World Association of Newspapers in 2004. The names working in different areas of the media such as newspapers, advertising companies and design companies have made their evaluations based on the available data regarding the future of newspapers printed on paper.[2] It is

2 http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/gazetelerin-gelecegi-haftasonu-yayinciliginda-231377

possible to convey the outlines of the participants' assessments by summarizing them as follows:

George Brock, Editor-in-chief of the Times, said that despite the speed advantage, digital newspapers will not replace traditional newspapers, but complement each other. He also noted that although digital publishing is fast, it is easier to read news from paper, and advertisements are more effective in traditional newspapers.

Agfa Strategic Business Development Manager Jack Knadjian stated that the paper would live for a long time and that what would change would be how the paper would be printed, how it would be distributed, and the content.

Roger Black, president of the Danilo & Black design company, stated that whenever we could communicate without media, for example, if we could able to look at a novel and instantly cast it into our memory, only then traditional newspapers would disappear. Caroline Foster Kenny, director of advertising company Media edge, said that readers enjoy reading newspapers at weekends by lying down and resting, not by looking at the computer, they have time for it. Shaun Dail, vice president of Olive Software, argued that paper would eventually disappear, and that the future of newspapers would be in digital paper and ink, so there should be a rush to transfer content to platforms suitable for this new technology. He stated that newspapers printed on paper would have to succeed in standing by advertisements because they would be distributed freely.

Even if the opinions of participants from different sectors differ in detail, the main idea is that printed newspapers will continue to exist through serious reform, but those who fail to comply will be eliminated. From this point on, the question arises as to how the newspapers should undergo a restructuring. It is possible to list the evaluations that emerged as a result of the Congress as follows:

– The publication period will evolve from daily to weekend journalism. Instead of daily news, these newspapers will include detailed articles on specific topics, such as files, articles by experts in their field, and contents that readers can read by taking time off in comfortable physical environments at rest. This kind of transformation is more meaningful when the subject is taken into consideration in Turkey. The examples were given above about the newspapers which are closed, changed the period of publication, and had to reduce the number of pages. Newspaper circulation in Turkey is significantly lower. Today, there is a certain stream of news, especially news agencies, and news content is very close to each other, except for the columnists of the paper-printed newspapers. The mainstream media in the Turkish press is organized in the form of cross-monopolization. So the newspaper owner also

operates in other sectors also such as fuel oil, construction. This monopolized structure is an obstacle for the newspaper to be completely independent of its political and economic powers. If weekend journalism is implemented, there will be original and strong content that the newspapers will differ from each other and the reader will prefer accordingly.

- The reason for traditional newspapers losing circulation is not the internet newspapers directly, but the lack of content. Therefore, the way to survive in competitive conditions is to diversify content and strengthen it with original writing and visuals. Even if weekend journalism is not preferred and continues in the daily period, the only way to get rid of traditional newspapers is to offer their readers not identical texts but content that they will take time to read, learn and get informed. Instead of 5Ws1H news, storified news should be presented. Well-trained reporters need to be employed to strengthen the content. Giving priority to graduates of the Communication Faculty and investing in specializing in the press is one of the elements that will enable the traditional newspaper to be adopted by its readers. The fact that the reporter specializes in different fields such as science, health, education, environment/energy, media literacy is one of the most important investments that the traditional newspaper will make for the content.
- Traditional publishing and internet publishing should not be treated as alternatives to each other, but as complementary to each other. In Turkey, instead of the understanding as in Radikal, Habertürk, Vatan newspaper that "printed newspapers are failed, then shall we continue in digital" they can follow a holistic understanding maximizing the advantages that the digital cannot provide in the traditional newspaper, the characteristics that the traditional newspaper cannot provide in the digital. Readers should know that they will find details, stories in the traditional newspaper that they will not find in the digital version of the newspapers. This holistic perspective can also be considered in favor of traditional newspapers as a cost. In the digital version, if there is a paid subscription application, the income to be obtained from it can be used in the printed newspaper costs.

Newspapers produced from electronic paper[3] may be published. Such Newspapers will be published which offers its readers to maintain old habits by taking the newspaper into their hands on the other hand, offers the opportunity to take advantage of the rapid update. The electronic newspapers of the readers

3 http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/214524.asp?0m=-11P

who subscribe to the relevant newspaper will be uploaded to their electronic papers, so that the type of newspaper in which both channels are put together.

Traditional newspapers can be distributed freely as a product of respectability, an idea if they manage to make themselves attractive to advertisers with the power of content.

– One of the biggest problems of traditional newspapers is that they depend on paper. When the subject is evaluated in Turkey, this disadvantage is more intense as a country that cannot produce newsprint at all, can only produce 4 % of the paper requirement itself and imports the rest. Since there is no paper forest in Turkey, there is no cellulose production, which makes the country dependent on exports. Dependence on foreign currency-related imported paper has become the reason for the closure of the newspaper itself. In this context, the first thing that needs to be done is to start paper-specific forest cultivation studies.

One way to solve the paper problem is to increase the recycle rate. According to the Conversion Association (2019), recycled paper consumes 64 % less energy than paper from cellulose. "A ton of paper made entirely of recycled paper can prevent the cutting of 17 trees, as well as saving water and fuel-oil for the country's economy" (Akcanlı, 2010: 29).Paper recycle will provide a significant advantage for traditional newspapers. However, the recycle rate in Turkey is far below the desired level. Saral (2016) indicates that Europe has increased its paper recovery rate from 70 % to 82 % in the last four years, whereas Turkey has been able to recover only 45 % during the same time period.

– State support is one of the factors that will ensure the survival of traditional newspapers. In Turkey, the National Press Agency distributes the advertisements that all institutions have to publish in accordance with the law. The National Press Agency only distributes advertisements for the print media. These advertisements are one of the most important pillars of the print press. According to the official announcements of the National Press Agency 2018 data, it is 12.50 TL per st/cm for newspapers with a circulation below 50 thousand, and 40 TL per st/cm for newspapers with a circulation below 50 thousand and above. In other words, the circulation of newspapers is decisive in the share to be taken from the official advertisements. At this point, it is also important to identify and explain newspaper circulation correctly. Another way is for the state to subsidize the paper requirement of newspapers to a certain extent. The Canadian Government and the Canadian print media are examples of this practice. According to the Keşişoğlu (2018), the Canadian

government has put into a subsidy package of 595 million Canadian dollars to cover five years to stop the financial crisis, especially in the print press since January 2019. The ideal situation In relation to the profession of journalism is that newspapers should be as independent as possible from any focus of economic and political power and prioritize only the benefit of their readers. This is the definition of 4th power. This kind of support from the state is expected not to overshadow the nature of the newspaper.

- A platform strategy can be developed. As it is indicated by Purdy and others (2018), the transition to an ad-supported model can help newspapers to get rid of economic crisis they are in. Using advertising technologies, "unusual" methods can be searched. The New York Times, for example, offers meal delivery kit by partnering with a start-up called Chef'd to boost falling print revenue. The ingredients are delivered to the subscribers' home addresses with portions set in order to make one of the dishes in the newspaper's archive of 17,000 recipes. Thus, additional resources can be transferred to the traditional newspaper.

In this regard, Digital Journalism Report (Site), which is published by Reuters Institute for the eighth time in 2019, includes significant findings. The report reveals that the internet channels encounter a trust problem due to "clickbait". In this report, it is determined that online newspapers will create more reliable content with a paid subscription system.

"The Pew Research Center has some findings about this topic. According to the results of this research, the rival of traditional newspapers seems to be social media sites rather than online newspapers. In the report, it is stated that the restructuring of news sites to meet the demands is the right approach in order to attract and understand the people born and raised in the digital technology environment, and not only Facebook, Twitter, but also Snapchat and Instagram are included in this subject" (Taşkıran, 2018: 226).In this case, traditional newspapers will also be effective in the future by strengthening their contents and producing these contents from a holistic perspective with their social media accounts.

Research Method

The aim of the study is to compare traditional and online newspapers in terms of audience. Firstly, these were compared in parallel with their advantageous and disadvantageous aspects according to their structural characteristics, and then, it was tried to clarify which aspects of the media that become prominent in

Table 1: Demographic Structure of the Participants

Gender (n)	Age (n)	Education Level (n)
Female	***18–40***	***University Graduates***
117	*127*	*124*
Male	***41–70***	***High School Graduates***
135	*125*	*128*

terms of the preferences of readers. For this, an online questionnaire consisting of closed and open-ended questions was applied to the participants determined by random sampling method. The findings were obtained from the responses of 252 participants with different demographic characteristics participating from İzmir, Trabzon and Ankara.

Findings

The research findings were evaluated under two headings. In the first stage, demographic data were presented, and comparisons were made between the groups in the context of these data. In the second stage, the responses of the participants to the open-ended questions were evaluated comparatively. The demographic characteristics of the participants are as follows:

Looking at the demographic profile of the participants, it is seen that they have a balance distribution in terms of gender, age and educational status.

Comparison of Demographic Findings

At this stage of the study, the responses of the participants to the multiple choice questions were compared in terms of demographic characteristics (gender, age and education level). Occupational and monthly income levels were excluded from the demographic criteria as they did not contribute important changes to the result. The ratio charts of replies to multiple choice questions according to demographic characteristics is shown as follows:

According to the results in the survey, habit of reading daily newspapers was determined to be 39 % among female. Women mostly prefer to reach global and national information from social media contents. When compared by gender, although the habit of reading daily newspapers is higher in males than females, it has not become a natural routine of life among males.

According to the table, the duration of reading daily newspapers among female is *15 and 20 minutes* per day with the ratio of 39 %. However, the option

Table 2: Comparing Reading Habits According to Gender

	Female (%)	Male (%)
Habits of reading daily newspapers		
If they come across	61	55
Have habit of reading daily newspapers	39	45
Duration of reading daily newspapers		
Between 15–20 minutes	39	39
About 1 hour	35	33
More than 1 hour	26	28
Preferences: Printed or Online Newspapers		
Printed newspapers	46	56
Online newspapers	54	44

of *about 1 hour* also has a close ratio. Therefore, it can be said that women mostly read daily newspapers for about 1 hour. At this point when the reading time of men is evaluated it can be said that the rates are quite close to each other and there is no significant difference between women and men.

When the printed or online newspaper preferences of female and male are compared, the following findings are obtained: 54 % of female prefer to read internet newspapers. In male, it is seen that the rates differ in the opposite direction. Unlike women, it is seen that a significant percentage of men (56 %) prefer to read printed newspapers. It may be effective for female to go to places such as cafes, tea houses, where daily printed newspapers are available, less than men. Being in the places where the newspapers are available for everybody becomes effective in this situation.

When the Table-3 examined, it is seen that the habit of reading daily newspaper as a routine decreases significantly as the age range decreases. The group between the ages of 18 and 40 learns daily developments from social media networks rather than traditional or internet newspapers and evaluates the information from these networks adequate. On the other hand, the increase in age range is not one of the evident variables that increase the habit of reading daily newspaper. It was found that 55 % of people between the ages of 41 and 70 too read newspapers if they came across, and this were not their natural routine of their life.

The common point of all the demographic groups that the survey was asked is that they allocate 15–20 minutes per day to read newspapers. The only group outside this assessement is between the ages of 41 and 70 and they have the

Table 3: Comparing Reading Habits According to Age Groups

	18–40 (%)	41–70 (%)
Habits of reading daily newspapers		
If they come across	60	55
Have habit of reading daily newspapers	40	45
Duration of reading daily newspapers		
Between 15–20 minutes	45	32
About 1 hour	29	39
More than 1 hour	26	29
Preferences: Printed or Online Newspapers		
Printed newspapers	49	53
Online newspapers	51	47

highest duration of reading daily newspaper. 39 % of them allocate an average hour to read newspaper.

The age does not make a big difference in reading internet newspaper or printed newspaper. It just can be said that the preference of printed newspapers is dominant with the ratio of 53 % among people between the ages of 41 and 70. According to these findings, it can also be said that different age groups in Turkey have not given up printed newspapers yet. This finding, in the debate of "Is the end of traditional newspapers?" is a clue that at least this will not occur in Turkey. In other words, the end of printed newspapers in Turkey do not occur due to their readers but it is understood that this may happen due to the reasons resulting from newspapers such as paper cost, inability to create original contents. Firstly, the reason is that they have no internet habit in their lives, and they do not like internet. Secondly, they mentioned that several newspapers were already bought in some places where they spend time (tea houses, coffeehouses, etc.), and they read these newspapers.

The findings of survey indicate the opposite (both traditional and digital newspapers) that university graduates' habit of reading daily newspaper are expected to be high. 59 % of university graduates read newspapers if they come across; if they do not, they do not buy or read. They prefer to follow national and global developments via social media platforms. In this study, it is possible to make a general evaluation concerning all groups and it can be said that online newspapers are preferred for their ease of access and free access, not for their contents. Traditional newspapers, on the other hand, are regarded as reliable and accepted with the emotional tie of touching paper. The habit of reading daily

Table 4: Comparing Reading Habits According to Education Level

	High School (%)	University (%)
Habits of reading daily newspapers		
If they come across	57	59
Have habit of reading daily newspapers	43	41
Duration of reading daily newspapers		
Between 15–20 minutes	41	37
About 1 hour	33	36
More than 1 hour	26	34
Preferences: Printed or Online Newspapers		
Printed newspapers	55	47
Online newspapers	45	53

newspaper is lower in high school graduates than university graduates. A significant majority (57 %) read if they come across the platforms such as cafeteria, coffeehouse or read by clicking the social media site that gives a newspaper link.

University graduates, who have the habit of reading daily newspapers, and university graduates, who read if they come across, allocate between 15 and 20 minutes to read the newspaper. This constitutes the highest ratio with 37 %. In high school graduates, reading time of those who read between 15 and 20 minutes is the highest ratio with 41 %. Those, who read more than an hour with the ratio of 26 %, are mostly 50 years and over.

53 % of university graduates prefer to read online newspapers. However, the ratio of those who prefer to read printed newspapers is not low. It is possible to mention that Turkish readers, who are university graduates, do not give up the traditional printed newspapers. Unlike university graduates, high school graduates prefer to read printed newspapers with higher ratio (55 %). As it can be seen in open-ended questions, the main reason emerges as "they do not like internet and believe the news less even if the newspaper has its own website". The basis of this mistrust lies in the facts that internet creates unrealistic contents due to the clickbait, the news can be deleted instantly and cannot be reached as a document, and the source of the news is not mentioned mostly (referring to uncertain addresses such as experts and authorities).

When a general assessement is made first about the tables 2, 3 and 4, it is indicated in this study that in all demographic groups, including education, age, gender, those who have the habit of reading daily newspapers are in the minority

compared to those who read if they come across. Reading newspaper is not part of daily life routines at least 55 % (people between the ages of 41 and 70, and men) and most 61 % (women) of those who participated in the survey. Most of them read if they come across in the places where it is bought for everybody or they read if the different websites they surf lead them to the newspaper's link.

The group with the highest duration of reading daily newspaper is people between the ages of 41 and 70 with a ratio of 39 % (about an hour). The group with the lowest ratio was between the ages of 18 and 40 with a ratio of 45 % (15–20 minutes). Apart from all demographic charts, the duration of reading daily newspaper is dominant in 15–20 minutes. The group, which allocates more than one hour to read newspapers within the demographic charts, is university graduates with ratio of 34 %.

Those who prefer printed newspapers are high school graduates according to education criteria (55 %), people between the ages of 41 and 70 years according to age criteria (53 %), and men according to gender criteria. As the reasons of this can be seen in the replies given to open-ended questions, being dependent on the habits in middle age and over, the sense of touch with paper, the distrust on the internet, and the sense of antipathy become effective. In addition, the fact that men are more frequently go cafes, coffeehouses, tea houses and read printed newspapers already bought in these places are among the determinants of their preference for printed newspapers compared to women. University graduates, people between the ages of 18 and 40, and women prefer to read online newspapers.

Comparison of Findings Related to Open-Ended Questions

Open-ended questions asked to participants are aimed to identify which platforms they choose and for what reasons they prefer. Questions are below:

– *What are your reasons for preferring printed newspapers?*
– *What are your reasons for preferring internet newspapers?*
– *Printed newspapers are more reliable, because:*
– *The websites of newspapers are more reliable because:*

Since it is not possible to mention all the replies of 252 people in the article, the replies of the questions are classified according to their main ideas. According to demographic charts, the situation is stated as follows:

The Reasons of Preference of Printed Newspapers

When the reasons for preferring the printed newspaper are evaluated according to the gender criteria 46 % of women mention that they prefer reading traditional newspapers. Their answers are listed as follows in terms of frequency: feeling of contact with paper (*It is more pleasant, the positive feeling of contact with paper, the spiritual pleasure of reading by turning the pages one by one, the pleasure of touching the paper and seeing the reflection of the given labour as concrete, feeling the smell of paper*), habit, have more detailed content, more reliable, against eye strain. 56 % of men mention that they prefer reading traditional newspapers. Their reasons are listed as follows: habit, a tradition, feeling of insecurity and dislike for internet (*There is to have too much fraud on internet*), trust in the printed newspapers, feeling of contact with paper (*It is pleasant to hold, touch and read the newspaper for a long time*), ease of understanding (*Paper is advantageous in the understanding of what is written*), more detailed content.

When this question is evaluated in terms of age groups, 49 % of the group including people between the ages of 18 and 40 mention that they prefer reading traditional newspaper. The reasons of preference are listed as follows: feeling of contact with paper (*To be more sincere, to feel the feeling of touching the paper is nice, and to follow the publications such as newspapers, magazines, books by touching is enjoyable, and it is a culture*), detailed content, less fabricated news, ease understanding (*The fact that holding the newspaper in a concrete way is more effective in understanding the issues concretely*), to avoid exposure to radiation emitted by the internet, against eye strain. 53 % of people between the ages of 41 and 70 mention that they prefer reading traditional newspapers and their answers listed as follows: habit, dislike the internet and to feel unsafe in the virtual environment, feeling of contact with paper, against the eye strain, more detailed news, the availability of newspapers in the places like teahouses, coffeehouses, have documental value, to be permanent.

The answers given in terms of education level are as follows. 55 % of high school graduates mention that they prefer reading traditional newspaper. The reasons of preference are as follows: habit, feeling of contact with paper (*It is more enjoyable reading newspaper on hand*), against eye strain, dislike, disuse and insecurity to the internet, have documental value, free of charge on tea houses and coffeehouses, ease understanding, more detailed information, use of the newspaper for the other purposes. In this question, 47 % of university graduates mention that they prefer to read traditional newspapers. Their reasons are listed as follows: feeling of contact with paper (*It is important to feel the texture of the paper*), habit, detailed content, safer sources than internet, against the

eye strain, visual quality of printed newspapers (*I find the visual quality better than the Internet*), browsing the internet but reading the printed newspaper more carefully.

The Reasons of Preference of Internet Newspapers

Comparing trends between male and female in this question, 54 % of women mention that they prefer reading online newspapers. The reasons are as follows: Easy access, access to all newspapers, be economical, difficulty going to buy a newspaper (*There is no time to buy newspapers*), update, access to many resources at the same time. Looking at men, 44 % of them mention that they prefer reading online newspapers. Their reasons are listed as follows: be economic, easy access, update, living in the age of technology and this is the necessity, be ergonomic (*It is difficult to read printed newspaper workplace or public transportation, etc.*)

When this question is evaluated in terms of age groups, 51 % of the group including people between the ages of 18 and 40 mention that they prefer reading online newspapers. Their reasons, easy access, update, possibility to read all newspapers, the possibility of researching uncertain topics from alternative sources, no waste of paper, be ergonomic, it is a requirement of technology era. 47 % of people between the ages of 41 and 70 mention that they prefer reading online newspapers. Their reasons are as follows, from the most frequently stated reason to the least stated: more economical, easy access, update, access to reader comments, be ergonomic (*The internet is always open at work*)

53 % of university graduates mentions that they prefer to read online newspapers. The reasons of preference are as follows in the order from the most frequently stated reason to the least stated: Easy access (*Always at my fingertips*, *I can enter every time I get bored*), update (*I can see current developments instantly, It is fast*), ease of use (*Easy to open and read immediately while waiting in line, on public transport, waiting for my friend somewhere, etc., It is possible to open and browse at the same time while doing my job at work*), free access to all newspapers (*Apart from the fixed internet fee*), access to all newspapers (*It is not possible to buy and read all the printed newspapers but it is possible to reach all the headlines and columnists from the internet*), possibility to share (*It is possible to share articles*), possibility to see readers' comments about the news and articles, be ergonomic (*This is what the business environment requires. It is not possible to open a huge newspaper and read it at work*). The answers of high school graduates to these questions are similar to those of university graduates: Easy access, be

economic, update speed, difficulty going to buy a newspaper. Only an interesting answer attracted attention: "*Because I like reading lies*".

If a general evaluation is made in the context of these two questions, there are common denominators where different demographic groups, such as education level, age and gender, meet in their reasons for choosing traditional newspaper/digital newspaper. The main reason to prefer traditional newspaper is habit. The second reason is that traditional newspapers are more reliable, have the quality of documents and, in contrast, distrust of the internet with all its content. Other reasons vary in different rankings. In all demographic groups, the common denominator for choosing digital newspapers is easy access and economic advantage.

Readers' Opinions on the Reliability of Printed Newspapers and Internet Newspapers

In open-ended questions, participants were also asked whether they found the traditional newspaper or the online newspaper more reliable and answers about these two questions are evaluated together under this heading. The vast majority, regardless of demographic group, have stated that they find traditional newspapers more reliable. It is possible to summarize the reasons stated by the participants listed as follows:

- *Online journalism is a fast journalism. Speed also causes mistakes.*
- *There is always the possibility of inaccurate and make-up news and distorted content even if the newspaper has its own website on the Internet.*
- *News is published in the printed newspapers after the control of many officials.*
- *Online newspapers have no legal infrastructure.*
- *Nothing on the Internet is permanent. It can be erased instantly. The traditional newspaper must be prepared more carefully because it will remain like a document.*
- *Hackers can make unauthorized changes on any kind of site.*
- *Online newspapers have contradictory news.*
- *News is summarized. The subject is not exactly given.*

On the other hand, a limited group of participants state that online newspapers are more reliable. However, their reasons stem from the structure of the media rather than being directly related to the content of the newspaper. Thus, they justify the advantage provided by the multimedia of the internet by saying "*I can read the news instantly from another source*", "*I can read and compare from many sites*". Also, one of the options mentioned by those who find online newspapers

reliable is fast update, which is not directly related to providing reliable, accurate, non-misleading content. A group of participants give vague statements reasons such as "*I think there is no lie in the internet*" and "*The internet is the most reliable*".

87 of the 252 participants mention that they do not find both of them safe. The main reasons for this opinion can also be indicated as follows:

– *The important matter is the content security. This is connected with the media policies, power and capital relations of the media organ.*
– *I do not believe any newspaper is objective and accurate.*

An 18-year-old female student participant's view about both media summarizes the participants' view of the newspapers and the media in general:

> "*I do not trust, I will not trust, you cannot make me trust*".

Conclusion

Each technological development has brought its own communication system to society. Clay tablets, papyrus, scrolls, post pigeon, smoke, telegraphy, radio, telephone, television, and finally the internet, which, by its literal meaning, has made the world a village. Although there are different forms of communication that develop on a different technical basis, they all have the same purpose and reason for their emergence; transferring larger amounts of information faster with minimal change and loss of meaning. The Internet has been the tools of communication that captures this aim at the highest level. All visual, written, animated messages can be transmitted to the target instantly without loss or change. The restructuring of the internet into the communication process has inevitably had an impact on newspapers as well.

The phone and after then emails ended the letters written on paper and the culture of correspondence. However, radio did not end the newspapers. So how will the successor-predecessor relationship between internet newspapers and traditional newspapers take shape? In this study in order to answer this question, first the advantages and disadvantages of both media were compared, then the main predictions about the future of the traditional newspapers were conveyed and the restructuring process that the traditional newspapers had to undergo in order to sustain their lives was discussed. In addition, a survey consisting of open and closed ended questions was asked to get an idea of how the subject's response in front of the reader was shaped. From this point of view, it can be said that:

While internet newspapers are preferred for external reasons such as practicality, ease and economic reasons, traditional newspapers are preferred for internal reasons such as more detailed articles, less chance of incorrect news, emotional proximity to touching paper, and habit. In addition, those who prefer to read newspapers online, even those who never buy printed newspapers, think that traditional newspapers are more reliable. More accurately, they are not found reliable for reasons such as internet newspapers are not audited in a hierarchical structure, they are not controlled, they can compromise accuracy for the sake of speed, their sloppiness resulting from lack of quality of permanence, but they say that printed newspapers are closer to the criteria of journalism. The reason they prefer the internet is related to easy access/ease of use, and economic reasons.

It can be said that online newspapers will not end the traditional newspapers. As a result of the survey, although the younger generation prefers online newspapers, in general the ratio of those who prefer traditional newspapers and those who prefer internet newspapers is very close to each other. The primary reasons why traditional newspapers are preferred are the feature of habit and detailed content and reach the reader through a more institutionalized editorial system. In this circumstances, if the traditional newspapers come across the reader with a rich content written in more detail based on review and interpretation rather than routine news flow, it is predictable that they will emerge from this race stronger than losing to digital newspapers if they evaluate weekend publication, which identifies the publishing routine from the diary to long reading with rest and enjoyment. Moreover, as the study has revealed, traditional newspapers have a strong advantage in feeling such as "emotional connection", "habit" and "sympathy".

Institutions that see digital newspapers as a complementary element rather than as an alternative to traditional newspapers will win. Newspapers which present storied news of their readers, investigate in trained expert reporters, evaluate the transition to the weekend period, already prepare the infrastructure for e-paper are not defeated by digital newspapers, on the contrary, traditional newspapers will be preferred with their advantages which cannot be provided due to structure of digital newspapers and will be the face of the newspaper's reputation in the eyes of reader.

Some improvements that are not directly related to the newspaper's content are also important for the future of the traditional newspaper. Investments in paper forests to reduce external dependence on paper, development of recycle technologies, increasing the awareness of readers' responsibility for recycling, increasing government support such as official advertisements and subsidies are also important external factors in the existence of traditional newspapers.

After evaluating the findings as a result of the responses given by the participants, the following can be said; Turkish reader is not in the phase of giving up the traditional newspapers. The reasons such as the emotional attachment resulting from habits, the quality of a written paper as a permanent document, and the perception of reliability of this permanent document increase the competitiveness of traditional newspapers. However, the technical features of online newspapers, its ease of use and economic advantage, which all newspapers can be accessed with internet connection, become prominent. In addition, readers can have a voice in online newspapers. It can be said that traditional newspapers will not come to an end in Turkish society, but they will have to update themselves with some innovations such as strengthening and diversifying the contents.

When the subject is handled over Turkish readers, traditional newspapers will not come to end thanks to paper supply and readers' reasons, but rather will continue to be preferred. Reasons such as paper supply and content quality pose a greater risk to traditional newspapers. Another aspect of the issue is that social media are increasingly taking up more space in lives of people. Users follow the developments by saying "I am already learning from social media" without questioning. The debate here is no longer about "Will traditional newspapers exist" but it transforms into "Will the notion, Newspaper, have a future?"

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